

HARVARD STUDIES
IN
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

*EDITED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE CLASSICAL
INSTRUCTORS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY*

VOLUME XVIII

1907



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PREFATORY NOTE

THESE Studies are published by authority of Harvard University and are contributed chiefly by its instructors and graduates, although contributions from other sources are not excluded. The publication is supported by a fund of \$6000, generously subscribed by the class of 1856. In this volume we publish with pleasure an article by a member of that class, ARTHUR SEARLE, Phillips Professor of Astronomy.

CHARLES BURTON GULICK,	}	EDITORIAL COMMITTEE
WILLIAM FENWICK HARRIS,		
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
'LOGAOEDIC' METRE IN GREEK COMEDY	I
By John Williams White.	
THE MEDEA OF SENECA	39
By Harold Loomis Cleasby.	
BOYHOOD AND YOUTH IN THE DAYS OF ARISTOPHANES	73
By Arthur Alexis Bryant.	
STYLISTIC TESTS AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WORKS OF BOETHIUS	123
By Arthur Patch McKinlay.	
THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE <i>Acharnenses</i>	157
By Earnest Cary.	
NOTE ON THE BATTLE OF PHARSALUS	213
By Arthur Searle.	
INDEXES	219

‘LOGAOEDIC’ METRE IN GREEK COMEDY

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480.

BY JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE

CHORIAMBUS (—υυ—) or “catalectic dactylic dipody” (—υυ|—_Λ)? Pure choriambic cola (—υυ— υυ— and —υυ— υυ— υυ—) or “syncopated dactyls” (—υυ|—|—υυ|— and —υυ|—|—υυ|—|—υυ|—)? Choriambic dimeter (υ—υ— υυ—) or “syncopated logaoedics” (υ|—υ|—|—υυ|—)? Antispastic dimeter (Glyconic: υ—υ υ—υ—) or “logaoedic tetrapody” with ‘dactyl’ in the second place (υ|—|—υυ|—υ|—_Λ)? Polyschematist dimeter (—υ—υ— υυ—) or “logaoedic tetrapody” with ‘dactyl’ in the third place (—υ|—|—υ|—υυ|—_Λ)? In a word, the metrical explanations of forms that abound in Greek poetry which are given by eminent Greek metricians, or a theory of the ‘rhythmical’ structure of these forms that has little, if any, support in ancient tradition? These questions are of importance sufficient to warrant a thorough reconsideration of the material to which they relate.

Definitions of logaoedic metre are given by Hephaestion and Aristides Quintilianus. These, unhappily, are not complete. The reason of this, however, is apparent: the metre was relatively unimportant. Both authors add their statements about it to their general treatment of the larger subjects of dactylic and anapaestic metres. But the essential fact is made clear. Hephaestion briefly defines logaoedic metre to be the combination, within the same colon, of two or more dactyls with a trochaic syzygy, or, in ascending rhythm, of two or more anapaests with a catalectic iambic syzygy (bacchius). The most noted form, he adds, in the second category has four anapaests, the first of which may be a spondee or iambus.¹ Logaoedic cola, thus defined, are comparatively rare in Greek comedy.²

¹ Heph. 25, 12 ff. and 29, 12 ff. (Westphal), and Schol. Heph. 163, 13 ff. Cf. Arist. Quintilianus 33, 30 ff. and 34, 5 ff. (Jahn) = 52 and 53 (M.).

² For examples of this metre, see Thesm. 1136–1159, p. 20 below. This lyric is altogether singular in the great number of logaoedic cola it contains.

Modern writers on Greek metre, G. Hermann (sparingly), Böckh, Rossbach and Westphal, and many others, have extended the application of the term 'logaoedic' to include cola that contain a single 'dactyl' (or single, but isolated, 'dactyls'). This view of logaoedic metre, chiefly through the powerful exposition of Rossbach and Westphal, is now current. It has recently been strongly re-enforced by the acute reasoning of Goodell.¹ But it is not the view of the Greek metricians, who, while they are not always in accord in the application of their theory, agree that the cola which are now under consideration are to be measured differently. According to Heliodorus and Hephaestion, the unit of measurement is here a 'foot' that in its normal form contains four syllables and six times (χρόνοι).

The current 'logaoedic' measurement of the metres in question has twice received fairly complete exposition in its application to Greek comedy, in Rossbach and Westphal's *Specielle Griechische Metrik*² and in J. H. H. Schmidt's *Antike Compositionslehre*.³ But, so far as I am aware, the lyrics and stichic periods of comedy that have been classified as 'logaoedic' have never been fully presented in any modern treatise in the forms demanded by ancient metrical theory. I purpose, therefore, in what follows to analyze them in accordance with the doctrine of Hephaestion, with such aid as may be got from the Heliodorean metrical scholia on Aristophanes. Fair opportunity will thus be afforded for comparison.

I exclude from present consideration the lyrics in Aristophanes written, in whole or in part, in the metre made famous by Telesilla. There are six of these lyrics, besides isolated occurrences of the line, in Aristophanes, and the form occurs also in Cratinus and Hermippus; but the Telesilleum, according to Hephaestion,⁴ is a mixed Ionic colon, and the discussion of it belongs elsewhere.

¹ *Chapters on Greek Metric*, pp. 212 ff.

² Third edit., pp. 653-669.

³ See pp. CLXXXVI-CCCLXXV.

⁴ See Heph. 35, 19 ff. (W.).

I Choriambic Cola

The Choriambus, as such, disappears under the current modern analysis. It is no longer a fundamental foot (—υυ—) used as constituent element of a μέτρον πρωτότυπον, but a catalectic dactylic dipody (—υυ | —^). Hephaestion, however, for whom this πούς was as real an element in metre as the dactyl or iambus, devotes a chapter of his Manual to it. The chapter begins (30, 6 ff.): τὸ χοριαμβικὸν συντίθεται μὲν καὶ καθαρὸν, συντίθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπίμικτον πρὸς τὰς ἱαμβικάς· ὡς ἐπίπαν δέ, ὅτε καταληκτικὸν ἔστιν, εἰς τὴν ἱαμβικὴν κατακλείδα περαιοῦνται, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, εἰς ἀμφίβραχυν, ἢ βακχείον διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον. This simple statement adequately explains the metrical constitution of many lyrics in Aristophanes.

Nubes 510-517

ἀλλ' ἴθι χαίρων τῆς ἀνδρείας	}	Anapaestic.
οὐνεκα ταύτης.		
εὐτυχία γένοιτο τὰν-	1	—υυ— υ—υ—
θρώπων, ὅτι προήκων		—υυ— υ—
ἐς βαθὺ τῆς ἡλικίας		—υυ— —υυ—
515 νεωτέροις τὴν φύσιν αὐ-		υ—υ— —υυ—
τοῦ πράγμασιν χρωτίζεται	5	—υ— —υ—
καὶ σοφίαν ἐπασκεῖ.		—υυ— υ—

In order to secure greater ease in analysis, the cola are here printed separately, each in its own line, after the manner of the Alexandrines. Catalexis marks the close of a period or hypermetron. The combination of choriambic cola in Aristophanes is generally hypermetrical. Hiatus and syllaba anceps in *acatalectic* cola are extremely rare; they will be noted whenever they thus occur.

The commation that has just been quoted (Nubes 510-517) begins with an anapaestic movement. Compare the beginning of the commation that introduces the parabasis in the *Vespae* (1009 ff.), where the lyric movement that follows is trochaic.

The remaining cola are all dimeters, rhythmic πόδες of the normal measurement of eight syllables and twelve times, with catalexis in 2, 6, and the commonly allowed irrational element in the odd places of the

iambic dimeter (5). The cola are pure choriambic (3̇), or mixed choriambic (1, 2, 4, 6), or iambic (5). The designation of 1 and 2 respectively as "first Glyconic" and "first Pherecratean" and of the union of the two as "first Priapean" is modern and highly objectionable.

Nubes 700-706 = 804-813

804	ἀρ' αἰσθάνει πλείστα δι' ἥ-	1	--υ-- υυ--
	μᾶς ἀγάθ' αὐτίχ' ἔξων		--υυ-- υ--
	μόνας θεῶν; ὥς ἔστιν ὃδ' ἔτοιμος ἅπαν-		υ--υ-- --υυυυυ--
808	τα δρᾶν ὃς ἂν κελεύης.		υ--υ-- υ--
	σὺ δ' ἀνδρὸς ἐκπεπληγμένου	5	υ--υυυ--υ--
810	καὶ φανερώς ἐπλημένον		--υυ-- υ--υ--
	γνοὺς ἀπολάψεις ὃ τι πλείστον δύνασαι,		--υυ-- --υυ-- --υυ--
	ταχέως· φιλεῖ γάρ πως τὰ τοι-		υ--υ-- --υ--
	αὐθ' ἐτέρᾳ τρέπεσθαι.		--υυ-- υ--

On the constitution of this lyric, cf. Schol. Ven. 804: χορίαμβος δίμετρος ἀκατάληκτος· χορίαμβος δίμετρος καταληκτικός (Thiemann, δικατάληκτος V)· ἱαμβος πενθημιμερής· ἀπὸ χοριάμβου βάσεως εἰς χοριάμβον· ἱαμβος δίμετρος καταληκτικός· ἱαμβος δίμετρος ἀκατάληκτος· ἀπὸ χοριάμβου βάσεως εἰς ἱαμβον· χοριαμβικὸν τρίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον· χορίαμβος ἐφθημιμερής. The Scholiast divides the text of 3, 4: μόνας θεῶν; ὥς | ἔτοιμος ὃδ' (?) ἔστιν ἅπαν | τα δρᾶν ὃς ἂν κελεύης. He overlooks 8.

The proper disposition of 3, 4 is notoriously difficult.¹ Order, however, may be restored by certain simple transpositions and a single slight change of text: ἔστιν ὃδ' ἔτοιμος in 807 for the reading of the Mss., ἔτοιμος ὃδ' ἔστιν, and εἰς δ' ἄπορον ὅταν πέσης, τάχιστ' in 703 f. for ταχὺς δ' ὅταν εἰς ἄπορον πέσης. When the order became confused τάχιστ' gave rise to ταχὺς δ'. With --υυυ (3) as the second syzygy of a lyric iambic trimeter, cf. Ran. 398 (Ἰακχε πολυτίμητε, μέλος ἔορτῆς), 399, 403 (υ--υυυ) and in a lyric tetrameter, Plut. 292. See also Eccl. 971 = 975. The occurrence of υ--υυυ as the first syzygy of a lyric iambic trimeter or dimeter (5) is not rare. Cf. Ach. 1158 =

¹ See Luthmer, *De Choriambico et Ionico a minore diiambi loco positis* (1884), p. 45 f. Von Wilamowitz in his *Isylos von Epidauros* (1886), p. 136, classified this lyric as Ionic.

1170, Eccl. 972, Thesm. 353, 999, Vesp. 1466. On the occurrence of $_ _ _ _ _$ in a *choriambic* colon, where the text is not to be impugned, see the next lyric. The correspondence of choriamb and iambic syzygy (3) is not uncommon. See the second lyric below (Vesp. 526 ff.).

On the apparent initial anapaest in 8, see p. 8.

Cola 7-9 are lacking in the ode.

Nubes 949-958 = 1024-1033

949	νῦν δείξετον τὼ πισύνω	1	$_ _ _ _ _$	$_ _ _ _ _$
	τοῖς περιδεξίοισι		$_ _ _ _ _$	$_ _ _ _ _$
	λόγοισι καὶ φροντίσι καὶ		$_ _ _ _ _$	$_ _ _ _ _$
952	γνωμοτύποις μερίμναις,		$_ _ _ _ _$	$_ _ _ _ _$
	λέγων ἀμείνων πότερος.	5	$_ _ _ _ _$	$_ _ _ _ _$
	φανήσεται. νῦν γὰρ ἅπας		$_ _ _ _ _$	$_ _ _ _ _$
	ἐνθάδε κίνδυνος ἀνέιται σοφίας,		$_ _ _ _ _$	$_ _ _ _ _$
957	ἣς πέρι τοῖς ἐμοῖς φίλοις		$_ _ _ _ _$	$_ _ _ _ _$
	ἔστιν ἀγὼν μέγιστος.		$_ _ _ _ _$	$_ _ _ _ _$

Bergk proposed λέγων ἀμείνων πότερος (5) to replace the reading of the Mss. ὁπότερος αὐτοῖν λέγων ἀμείνων, in which the dual αὐτοῖν is a gloss on an original πότερος. In the antode of 5, 6, read with R and V εὐδαίμονες δ' ἦσαν ἄρ' οἱ | ζῶντες τότ' ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων. In 6 ζῶντες τότ' ἐπὶ is the sole example of an iambic syzygy of this form ($_ _ _ _ _$) in a choriambic dimeter in Aristophanes, but it has just been seen that both this form and $_ _ _ _ _$ occur as the first syzygy in iambic cola that are constituent parts of these choriambic lyrics.

Vespae 526-545 = 631-647

	Χο. νῦν δὲ τὸν ἐκ θῆμετέρου	1	$_ _ _ _ _$	$_ _ _ _ _$
	γυμνασίου λέγειν τι δεῖ		$_ _ _ _ _$	$_ _ _ _ _$
	καινόν, ὅπως φανήσῃ —		$_ _ _ _ _$	$_ _ _ _ _$
529	Βδ. ἐνεγκάτω μοι δεῦρο τὴν	} Iambic tetrameter.		
	κίστην τις ὡς τάχιστα.			
530	ἀτὰρ φανεῖ ποῖός τις ὢν,	} Iambic tetrameter.		
	ἦν ταῦτα παρακελεύῃ;			
532	Χο. μὴ κατὰ τὸν νεανίαν		$_ _ _ _ _$	$_ _ _ _ _$
	τόνδε λέγειν. ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὧς	5	$_ _ _ _ _$	$_ _ _ _ _$

	σοι μέγας ἔστ' ἀγὼν νῦν	—υυ— υ—
535	καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀπάντων	—υυ— υ—
	εἴπερ, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο,	—υυ— υ—
	οὗτος ἐθέλει κρατῆσαι	—υυυ—υ—
Bδ.	καὶ μὴν ὅς' ἂν λέξῃ γ' ἀπλῶς	} Iambic tetrameter.
	μνημόσυνα γράψομαι ᾧ.	
539 Φι.	τί γὰρ φάθ' ὑμεῖς, ἦν ὁδί	} Iambic tetrameter.
540	με τῷ λόγῳ κρατήσῃ;	
Χο.	οὐκέτι πρεσβυτῶν ὄχλος	10 —υυ— —υ—
	χρήσιμος ἔστ' οὐδ' ἀκαρῆ·	—υυ— —υυ—
	σκωπτόμενοι δ' ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς	—υυ— —υ—
	θαλλοφόροι καλούμεθ', ἀντ-	—υυ— υ—υ—
	ωμοσιῶν κελύφη.	—υυ— υ—

Bentley and Porson, demanding exact choriambic correspondence in choriambic cola (—υυ— with —υυ—), proposed many changes of text in this lyric, the former *τονδὶ* (533) for *τόνδε* R V, *γένοιθ' οὐ|τος γ' ἐθέλων* (536 f.) for *γένοιτο νῦν οὗτος ἐθέλει* R V, and the latter *νῦν δῆ* (526) for *νῦν δὲ* R V, *δεῖ τι λέγειν* (527) for *λέγειν τι δεῖ* R V, *σ' ἐθέλει* (537), *ὥς δ' ἐπὶ πάντ' ἐλήλυθεν* (636) for *ὥς δὲ πάντ' ἐπέ- λήλυθεν* R V. In the last case Porson doubted the equivalence of choriambic dimeter and Glyconic. I know no exact parallel to this in comedy (Hermann proposed one in *Thesm.* 990 = 995 — see p. 20 below), but this correspondence is not so difficult as that in *Eq.* 332 = 406, where the parody fixes the form and forbids emendation. In 534 Bentley added *νῦν*, transferring it from 536. Porson corrected (542 f.) *δ' ἂν ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖσιν* (*ὁδοῖς* R) *ἀπάσαις . . . καλούμεθ'* R V to the reading given above. The last syzygy of colon 13 of the antode is lacking in the Mss.

Besides the four cases of correspondence of choriambus with iambic syzygy that are found in the lyric under consideration, the following also occur in cola that have not been emended: —υυ— *Lys.* 324 = 338, υυυ— *Lys.* 326 = 340, —υυ— *Ach.* 1151 = 1163. Thus —υυ— occurs four times, υυυ— twice, and —υυυ— once.

I add, in order to afford means of comparison, the correspondences in lyric iambic syzygies, the text of which has not been emended, that occur among the lyrics discussed in this paper: υ—υ— *Nub.* 951 = 1026,

Lys. 321 = 335, etc., etc., υ_υ_υ Nub. 705 = 809, υ_υ_υ Nub. 954 = 1028, υ_υ_υ Eccl. 969 = 972, υ_υ_υ Ach. 1157 = 1169, Vesp. 1455 = 1467, Lys. 325 = 339 and 328 = 342, υ_υ_υ Ach. 1158 = 1170, υ_υ_υ_υ Ach. 1156 = 1168, υ_υ_υ_υ Vesp. 1454 = 1466, υ_υ_υ_υ (?) Lys. 324 = 338, υ_υ_υ (?) Eccl. 911 (οὐχ ἦκει μούταίρος) = 919 (bis).

Lysistrata 321-334 = 335-349

335	ἤκουσα γὰρ τυφογέρον-	1	υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ
	τας ἄνδρας ἔρρειν, στελέχη		υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ
	φέροντας ὥσπερ βαλανεύσοντας		υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ . _ _
	ἐς πόλιν ὡς τριτάλαντον βάρος,		υ_υ_υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ
	δεινότατ' ἀπειλοῦντας ἐπῶν	5	υ_υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ
340	ὡς πυρὶ χρὴ τὰς μυσαρὰς		υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ
	γυναικας ἀνθρακεύειν.		υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ
341	ἄς ὦ θεὰ μή ποτ' ἐγὼ		υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ
	πιμπραμένος ἴδοιμι,		υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ
342	ἀλλὰ πολέμου καὶ μανιῶν	10	υ_υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ
	ῥυσταμένας Ἑλλάδα καὶ πολίτας,		υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ υ_υ_υ
	ἐφ' οἷσπερ ὦ χρυσολόφα		υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ
345	πολιοῦχε σὰς ἔσχον ἔδρας.		υ_υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ
	καί σε καλῶ ξύμμαχον ὦ		υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ
	Τριτογένει, εἴ τις ἐκεί-	15	υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ
	νας ὑποπίμπρησιν ἀνήρ,		υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ
	φέρειν ὕδωρ μεθ' ἡμῶν.		υ_υ_υ	υ_υ_υ

The colon corresponding to 345 is lacking in the ode.

Three forms are found in the first half of a choriambic dimeter in this lyric that have not previously occurred: (1) υ_υ_υ_υ (4, 5, 10). Cf. Vesp. 1453 = 1465, 1455, 1456 = 1468, and the discussion of Aves 1372 ff. (p. 11 f.), a comic parody. The same form occurs as the first syzygy of an iambic dimeter in Ach. 1156, 1157. (2) υ_υ_υ_υ (5, 10). Cf. Vesp. 1467. Also in an iambic dimeter in Ach. 1169. (3) υ_υ_υ_υ (13). This anapaest is generally excluded by the commentators, beginning with Bentley, who proposed σὰς πολιοῦχ', not in itself a felicitous change of text. Another apparent instance of the anapaest in choriambic verse occurs in Eccles. 940 = 944, but this cannot be cited as evidence of the usage of Aristophanes, since in Eccles. 938 ff.

the poet is imitating the common form of the scolium, in which the metrical constitution of the last two verses is uncertain. To pass to iambics, *ταχέως* in Nub. 812 is no doubt a dissyllable, and in Thesm. 355 the metre may be Ionic: $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$ (anacalasis). The anapaest does not occur, so far as I have observed, in any of the pure iambic lyrics of Aristophanes. On the other hand, it is found in two polyschematist dimeters in both R and V, Vesp. 1461 = 1473. See p. 23. In Vesp. 1458, Küster's change of *φύσεως* (R, V) to *φύσεος* is probably right. Here the antode (1470) shows $\cup\cup\cup$. The natural inference from these facts is that the anapaest is faulty in all these places, especially when one recalls to mind the assault that Aristophanes, in Ran. 1322 ff., makes upon its use by Euripides in Glyconics. See p. 29 ff.

A form of iambic dimeter occurs in the antode of this lyric (4) that must be accounted defective ($\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$), but who shall say that Aristophanes did not compose it? Here also the commentators have essayed changes: *ὡς τριταλантаία βάρος* Bentley, *δεῦρο τριτάλαντόν τι βάρος* Reisig, etc., but the same fault is found in two iambic dimeters in the same play (Lys. 277 278). Reisig's conclusion that the two cola just cited are Glyconics is invalidated (to say no more) by the strictness of Glyconic form everywhere maintained by Aristophanes.

To avoid the correspondence $\cup\cup\cup$ in 7, Meineke proposed *τὰς κύνας* for *γυναικάς* (Mss.).

On the form of the catalexis of the trimeter in 3 compare the tetrameter in Av. 1724 f.

Ecclesiazusae 968-971 = 972-975

	<i>καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι μετρίως</i>	1	$\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$
969	<i>πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάγκην</i>		$\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$
	<i>εἰρημέν' ἐστίν. σὺ δέ μοι,</i>		$\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$
970	<i>φίλτατον, ὃ ἱκετεύω,</i>		$\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$
	<i>ἄνοιξον ἀσπάζου με· διὰ</i>	5	$\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$
	<i>τοι σὲ πόνους ἔχω.</i>		$\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$

Two choriambic tetrameters and an iambic dimeter and dochmius. The dochmius is here admirably adapted to express the emotion of the singer, and occurs in just this form, in connection with iambics, elsewhere in Aristophanes in passages of intense feeling, in comic imitation

or parody of tragedy. Cf. Ach. 1219, 1221; Nub. 1163, 1164; Vespae 730 = 744 (υυυ-υ- | υυυ-υ-) and 873 = 890. On the form of the fifth colon, see p. 4 f. In 970, ὦ ἱκετεύω is a case of synizesis, since the resolution of either long of the choriamb (here it would be υυυυυ | υ-) is unheard of in Aristophanes, except in parody (pp. 11 ff.).

Acharnenses 1150-1161 = 1162-1173

1150	Ἀντίμαχον τὸν ψακάδος	1	υυ-	υυ-	
	τὸν ξυγγραφῇ τὸν μελέων ποιητήν,		υυ-	υυ-	υυ
	ὥς μὲν ἀπλῶ λόγῳ, κακῶς		υυ-	υυ-	
	ἐξολέσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς.		υυ-	υ-	
	ὅς γ' ἐμὲ τὸν τλήμονα Λή-	5	υυ-	υυ-	
1155	ναια χορηγῶν ἀπέλυσ' ἄδειπνον.		υυ-	υυ-	υυ
	ὃν ἔτ' ἐπίδοιμι τευθίδος		υυυυ	υυ-	
	δεόμενον, ἧ δ' ὠπτημένη		υυυυ	υυ-	
	σίζουσα πάραλος ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ κειμένη		υυυυ	υυυυ	υυυ
	ὀκέλλοι· κᾶτα μέλ-	10	υ-	υ-	
1160	λοντος λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ κύων		υυ-	υυ-	
	ἄρπασασα φεύγοι.		υυ-	υ-	

Two choriambic pentameters enclosing a tetrameter, followed by two iambic hypermetra. The close of the first iambic hypermetron is marked by hiatus in the ode and by syllaba anceps in the antode. The contrast in form between the iambic hypermetra is admirably adapted to heighten the comic effect of the sentiment. The triseme syllable at the beginning of an iambic dipody (10, 12) is now clearly established by the authority of Aristoxenus.¹

Cf. Schol. E (cod. Estensis III D 8) on 1150 ff.: διπλῇ καὶ ἡ τῶν ὁμοίων δυὰς ἔχουσα τὰς περιόδους δωδεκακώλους· ὦν τὸ πρῶτον χοριαμβικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον· τὸ β' ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ περιόδῳ ἐστὶν ἱαμβικόν, ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ περιόδῳ χοριαμβικόν, ἔστι δὲ συγγενὲς τῷ τοῦ ἱαμβικοῦ· τὸ τρίτον, χοριαμβικόν· ἐφθημιμερὲς τὸ τέταρτον.

Elmsley, objecting to the correspondence in 2, proposed τὸν μέλεον τῶν μελέων for τὸν ξυγγραφῇ τὸν (τῶν R) μελέων of the Mss. The form of colon 2 in the ode recurs in Ran. 213.

¹ See Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part I, IX (p. 15, Col. II).

Isolated choriambic periods and single cola are found elsewhere in the comedies, as the tetrameter Aves 1724 f. at the close of an iambo-trochaic series; the catalectic trimeter Ran. 213; the catalectic dimeter, at the close of a trochaic period in each case, Eccl. 902 = 908, 905 = 910; and the succession of catalectic dimeters, Pax 785-787 = 807-809, in transition to dactyls.

Choriambic cola and periods occurred in other plays of Aristophanes, no longer extant, and in those of other poets of the Old Comedy. Hephaestion (30, 21 ff.) quotes the *Αἰολοσίκων* (10 Kock):

οὐκ ἐτός, ὦ γυναῖκες,	-υυ- υ--
πασι κακοῖσιν ἡμᾶς	-υυ- υ--
φλῶσιν ἐκάστοθ' ἄνδρες.	-υυ- υ--
δεινὰ γὰρ ἔργα δρῶσαι	-υυ- υ--
λαμβάνόμεσθ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν.	-υυ- υ--

Cf. Eupolis, *Κόλακες* 163 (Kock):

ὃς χαρίτων μὲν ὄξει	-υυ- υ--
καλλαβίδας δὲ βαίνει,	-υυ- υ--
σησαμίδας δὲ χέζει,	-υυ- υ--
μῆλα δὲ χρέμπτεται.	-υυ- υ-

The last colon,¹ in appearance, is the catalectic form of the preceding cola. The sentiment precludes the dochmius. See above, p. 8 f.

Pure acatalectic dimeters occur among the fragments of Aristophanes in 11 and 533 (K.). A tetrameter, quoted by Hephaestion (31, 16), occurred in the *Ἀμφιάρεως* (30):

οἶδα μὲν ἀρχαῖόν τι δρῶν	-υυ- --υ-
κοῦχ' ἐλέγηθ' ἐμαυτόν.	-υυ- υ--

This has been called "first Priapean" (p. 4). It occurs not infrequently in Aristophanes in extant plays. Cf. Ach. 1152 f. = 1164 f., Nub. 512 f., 567 f. = 599 f., 957 f. = 1032 f. In the *Κόλακες* of Eupolis (159) it is used by line in a fragment of sixteen verses. Cf. also Eupolis 38 and 361.

¹ This combination has been much discussed, and it is thought by some scholars to be the basis of the forms of scoliastic verse that are found in Eccl. 941 = 945 and Vesp. 1245-1247. See p. 17 below.

Cratinus used the pentameter in the Πυλαία (172). Cf. Lys. 328 f. = 342 f., and in varying form Ach. 1150 f. = 1162 f., 1154 f. = 1166 f.

In the Lysistrata (319, 320) Aristophanes employs two catalectic choriambic tetrameters to introduce the parodos of the women:

λιγνὸν δοκῶ μοι καθορᾶν	--υ-- υυ--
καὶ καπνὸν ὦ γυναῖκες	υυ-- υ--
ὥσπερ πυρὸς καομένον·	--υ-- υυ--
σπενστέον ἐστὶ θᾶπτον.	υυ-- υ--

He has the same verse elsewhere: Nub. 700 f. = 804 f., 949 f. = 1024 f., 951 f. = 1026 f., Lys. 327 = 341, Eccl. 970 = 974. The iambic syzygy which begins the period has the fixed constitution --υ-- except twice, where it is υ--υ--. Anacreon had used the verse in a freer form (frag. 24):

ἀναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμ-	υυυυ--υυ--
πον πτερύγεσσι κούφαις	υυ-- υ--
διὰ τὸν Ἑρωτ'· οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ	υυυυ--υυ--
παῖς ἐθέλει συνηβᾶν.	υυ-- υ--

The metricians were here in doubt as to the constitution of the first foot. Did it result from the resolution of a choriambus or of a pure iambic dipody? Cf. Heph. 31, 6 ff.: Ἀνακρέων δὲ ἐπετήδευσε τὴν πρώτην συζυγίαν δι' ὅλου ἔσματος ἐκ τριβράχους καὶ ἰάμβου ποιῆσαι, ὥς εἶναι κοινήν λύσιν τῆς τε χοριαμβικῆς καὶ τῆς ἰαμβικῆς. Cf. Schol. Heph. 181, 14 ff.

Aristophanes can have felt no objection to this form *in itself*, since he employs it in the iambic part of mixed choriambic cola, not only in dimeters (Vesp. 1453 = 1465, 1455, 1456 = 1468, Lys. 324, 325), but also in a trimeter (Thesm. 992 f.), and in a pentameter (Lys. 328 f.); but in a well-known passage, with rare humor, he has used Anacreon's peculiar tetrameter 'with variations' to travesty the extravagances of the dithyrambic poet Cinesias. In Aves 1372 f. he introduces Cinesias singing the very words of the lyric poet:

1372 f. ἀναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον πτερύγεσσι κούφαις·
υυυυ-- υυ-- υυ-- υ--

Hereupon the comic poet immediately begins to ring all possible changes (they are all impossible according to his own practice) on the

form of the choriambus, by means of resolution and contraction. He has Cinesias first display his complicated art by a variation in the first foot of a verse that certainly was not Anacreontic :

1373 f. πέτομαι δ' ὁδὸν ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλαν μελέων —
 υυ_υυ _υυ_ _υυ_

Cinesias is rudely interrupted by Peithetaerus, but continues, varying the first and second feet :

1376 f. ἀφόβῳ φρενὶ σώματί τε νέαν ἐφέπων —
 υυ_υυ _υυυυ _υυ_

He is again interrupted, but now with a warm welcome, and goes on heartily, with iambic and antispastic variations :

1380. ὄρνις γενέσθαι βούλομαι λιγύφθογγος ἀηδών.
 υ _υ_ υ_υυ υ_

He continues with renewed spirit, in spite of remonstrance, introducing the following interrupted 'heptameter' by a catalectic Telesilleum and ending it with broken Ionics (anaclassis) :

1393 f. εἶδωλα πετεινῶν
 αἰθεροδρόμων οἰωνῶν ταναοδείρων —
 _υυυ _
 υυυ _ _υυ_ _

(ὦόπ says Peithetaerus, but the poet forges ahead :)

1395 f. τὸν ἀλάδρο-
 μον ἀλάμενος ἄμ' ἀνέμων πνοαῖσι βαίην —
 υυυυ
 υυυυυυ υυ_υ _υ_

And finally makes a triumphant finish in two finely variegated tetrameters whose choriambic tone is nevertheless skillfully preserved :

1398 f. τοτὲ μὲν νοτίαν στείχων πρὸς ὁδόν, τοτὲ δ' αὖ βορέα
 σῶμα πελάζων ἀλίμενον αἰθέρος αὐλακα τέμνων.
 υυ_υυ _ _υυ_υυ _υυ_ _
 υυ _υυυυ _υυ_ υυ_

Since Aristophanes himself never resolves either long of the choriambus nor contracts its shorts, his audience would be quick to appreciate the inimitable skill with which he genially brought the resources of metric into the service of his art as comic poet.

II *Antispastic Cola*

Since G. Hermann’s assault upon the antispast and his celebrated invention of a “basis,” scholars have fought shy of this much abused foot and it has disappeared from the modern books.¹ Hermann, to be sure, could not completely abandon the choriamb, and in his hands Sappho’s *κατθναίσκει, Κυθήρη’, ἄβρος Ἀδωνις· τί κε θέϊμεν;* (Heph. 34, 13) became a “choriambicum cum basi.” The logaoedists go a long way farther and make it $_> | _υυ | _ | _υυ | _ | _υυ | _ \tilde{}$.²

Hephaestion, however, who had no premonition of the advanced investigations of the nineteenth century, and apparently found nothing in antecedent practice to give him pause, recognizes antispastic metre and devotes a chapter to it. This begins (32, 15 ff.): τὸ ἀντισπαστικὸν τὴν μὲν πρώτην συζυγίαν ἔχει τρεπομένην κατὰ τὸν πρότερον πόδα εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα τοῦ δισσυλλάβου σχήματα· τὰς δὲ ἐν μέσῳ, καθαρὰς ἀντισπαστικός· τὴν δὲ τελευταίαν ὁπότε ἐστὶν ἀκατάληκτον, ἱαμβικὴν· ἔαν δὲ ἀναμίσγηται ταῖς ἱαμβικαῖς, οὐ μόνον τὴν πρώτην συζυγίαν ἔχει τρεπομένην κατὰ τὸν πρότερον πόδα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ταῖς ἱαμβικαῖς ἐπομένην. ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ λύεται ὁ πρότερος πούς εἰς τρίβραχυν. It is important to note what the variable four-syllabled element is that under this definition begins the ἀντισπαστικὸν μέτρον. It may be $_υ_υ$ or $_υ_υ$ or $_ _ _ υ$ or $_υ_υ_υ$. These are all antispastic ‘syzygies;’

¹ It has been treated with downright contumely. T. Reinach speaks of it as “l’horrible antispaste,” and in general it is viewed askance by the new school, but possibly it may be rehabilitated. It is at least true that Westphal’s statement that the antispast was invented by Heliodorus can no longer be maintained. See Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part II, CCXX (p. 45, Col. VIII, and p. 47, Col. XIV).

² Rossbach and Westphal’s analysis (*Specielle Griechische Metrik*, p. 568 f.) is bewildering. The fundamental part is a choriambic monometer and ‘first Pherecratean’ ($_υυ_υ_υ_υ$). To this is then prefixed a catalectic Pherecratean ($_υ_υ_υ$), and it is itself then modified by shortening the ‘first Pherecratean’ to the so-called Adonius ($_υυ_υ$). The result (!) is $_υ_υ_υ_υ_υ_υ_υ_υ_υ$, yet this is the verse that Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon so greatly affected.

in distinction from the rest, the first is designated as *καθαρά*. We shall discover that Aristophanes denied himself the use of one of those forms (υυ_υ), but that Euripides added even a sixth (υυ_υ_υ). By Hephaestion's definition, the second syzygy of an acatalectic antispastic dimeter is iambic.

$$\text{Equites } 973-976 = 977-980 = 981-984 = 985-988 = \\ 989-992 = 993-996$$

973 ἡδιστον φάος ἡμέρας	_υ_υ υ_υ_
ἔσται τοῖσι παροῦσι καὶ	_υ_υ υ_υ_
τοῖσι δεῦρ' ἀφικνουμένοις,	_υ_υ υ_υ_
ἦν Κλέων ἀπόληται.	_υ_υ υ_υ

Cf. the analysis of this lyric in the scholium in V: *κορωνίς, ἐξίασι γὰρ οἱ ὑποκριταί, καὶ ἐν εἰσθέσει τοῦ χοροῦ ἐξὰς μονοστροφικὴ τετρακῶλος οὔσα (τετρακώλους ἔχουσα Thiemann) τὰς περιόδους ἐκ τριῶν Γλυκωνείων καὶ τοῦ Φερεκρατείου, συνῆπται δὲ τῇ λέξει καὶ μόνον διακέκριται τὸ Φερεκράτειον, παράγραφοι δὲ ἀπλαῖ (Dübner, ἀπλοῖ V) μὲν ἐ, ἡ δὲ ε' καὶ μετὰ κορωνίδος. Hephaestion also designates this acatalectic dimeter as Γλυκωνεῖον (33, 9) and the catalectic form as Φερεκράτειον (33, 5). Cf. the definition of the pure Glyconic given by the scholiast on Hephaestion (213, 17 ff.). The antispastic dimeter (Glyconic), precisely as the choriambic dimeter and the iambic dimeter, normally consists of eight syllables and twelve times.*

Bentley proposed the reading of 975 for the unmetrical *τοῖσιν ἀφικνουμένοισιν* of the Mss., and in 981 Scaliger 'γένεθ' for γένοιθ'. Musaeus supplied the *ἄν* that was lacking in 989.

Ranae 1251-1260

τί ποτε πρᾶγμα γενήσεται;	1 υυυ_υυ_υ_
φροντίζειν γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔχω,	___υ υ_υ_
τίν' ἄρα μέμψιν ἐποίησει	υυυ_υυ_
ἄνδρὶ τῷ πολὺ πλείστα δὴ	* _υ_υ υ_υ_
1255 καὶ κάλλιστα μέλη ποιή- σαντι τῶν μέχρι νυνί.	5 ___υ υ_υ_
θαυμάζω γὰρ ἔγωγ' ὅπη	_υ_υ υ_
μέμψεται ποτε τοῦτον	___υ υ_υ_
τὸν Βακχεῖον ἄνακτα,	_υ_υ υ_
καὶ δέδοιχ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.	10 ___υ υ_

The lyric is parodic in tone. Aristophanes rarely uses the form of the first syzygy that appears in 1, 3. Cf. Thesm. 991. The song begins with two hypermetra of equal length, and ends with Pherecrateans. The tetrameter in 7, 8 is a Priapean. See below. Bentley wished to read *τουτονι* in 1258. In 1256 *μέχρι νυνί* is due to Meineke for *ἔτι νῦν* (or *νῦν ἔτ'*) *ὄντων* of the Mss.

The acatalectic antispastic dimeter (Glyconic) occurred also in the *Γῆρας* (140 K.), and the hephthemimeral form (Pherecratean) in continuous series in the *Κοριαννώ* of Pherecrates (79), quoted by Hephaestion (33, 5):

ἄνδρες, πρόσχετε τὸν νοῦν	----υ υ--
ἐξευρήματι καινῷ,	----υ υ--
συμπτύκτοις ἀναπαίστοις.	----υ υ--

Cf. Eupolis 162, Crates 33.

The catalectic antispastic tetrameter, with the second syzygy iambic and with iambic close (a combination of Glyconic and Pherecratean) was named Priapean (Heph. 34, 15 ff.). Cf. Cratinus 221:

οὐδ' Αἰξωνίδ' ἐρυθρόχρων	----υ υ--υ--
ἐσθίειν ἔτι τρίγλην	--υ-- υ--
οὐδὲ τρυγόνος, οὐδὲ δει-	--υ-- υ--υ--
νοῦ φυὴν μελανούρου—	--υ-- υ--

Cf. Cratinus 320, and Ran. 1257 f., Nub. 573 f. = 605 f., Thesm. 1141 f.

Choriambic and antispastic cola may be combined in successive series, as follows:

Equites 551-564 = 581-594

551 ἵππι' ἄναξ Πόσειδον, ᾧ	1	--υ-- υ--υ--
χαλκοκρότων ἵππων κτύπος		--υ-- υ--υ--
καὶ χρεμετισμὸς ἀνδάνει		--υ-- υ--υ--
καὶ κνανέμβολοι θοαὶ		--υ-- υ--υ--
555 μισθοφόροι τριήρεις,	5	--υ-- υ--
μειρακίων θ' ἄμιλλα λαμ-		--υ-- υ--υ--
πρυνομένων ἐν ἄρμασιν		--υ-- υ--υ--
καὶ βαρυνδαιμονούντων,		--υ-- υ--
δεῦρ' ἔλθ' ἐς χορὸν α' χρυσοτρίαιν' α'		----υ υ--υ υ--

560 δελφίνων μεδέων Σουνιάρατε,
 ὦ Γεραίστιε παῖ Κρόνου,
 Φορμίωνί τε φιλτατ' ἐκ
 τῶν ἄλλων τε θεῶν Ἀθη-
 ναίοις πρὸς τὸ παρεστός.

10 ---υ υ---υ υ_υ
 _υ_υ υ_υ_
 _υ_υ υ_υ_-
 ---υ υ_υ_-
 ---υ υ_υ

Cf. the scholium in V: διπλῇ, εἴτα ἐπάγεται ἐπιρρηματικὴ συζυγία, ἥς αἱ μὲν μελικαὶ (Thiemann, μέλη καὶ V) περίοδοι εἰσι ἰδ' κώλων· τὸ πρῶτον χοριαμβικὸν ἱαμβικὴν ἔχον ἐπιμεμιγμένην ἀκατάληκτον, καὶ τὸ β' ὁμοιον ἀκατάληκτον, καὶ τὸ γ' καὶ τὸ δ' ὁμοιον, καὶ τὸ ε' χοριαμβικὸν καταληκτικόν (Thiemann, ἀκατάληκτον V), καὶ τὸ ς' καὶ τὸ ζ' ἀκατάληκτον (ὁμοιον V), καὶ τὸ η' καταληκτικόν, τὸ δὲ θ' καὶ ἰ' ἀντισπαστικά τρίμετρα καταληκτικά (Thiemann, καὶ τὸ η' ἀκατάληκτον καὶ τὸ θ', τὸ δὲ ἰ' ἀναπαιστικὸν τρίμετρον καταληκτικόν V), τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ δ' ἀντισπαστικά δίμετρα (Thiemann, ἀναπαιστικά τρίμετρα V), τρία μὲν Γλυκῶνεια, τὸ τελευταῖον δὲ Φερεκράτειον. The corrections are obvious. Cf. the Aldine scholium: διπλῇ, εἴτα ἐπάγεται ἐπιρρηματικὴ συζυγία ἥς μελικαὶ (μέλη καὶ Ald.) περίοδοι εἰσι ἰδ' κώλων· ὧν τὰ μὲν ὀκτὼ χοριαμβικὰ ἱαμβικὴν ἔχοντα ἐπιμεμιγμένην ἀκατάληκτον καὶ καταληκτικὴν ὡς ἐν τῷ ε' καὶ η'. τῶν δ' ἐξῆς ἀντισπαστικῶν τὰ μὲν θ' καὶ ἰ' τρίμετρα καταληκτικά, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα Γλυκῶνεια διτροχαίου καὶ διιάμβου (ιάμβου Ald.) πλὴν τοῦ τελευταίου ἐφθημιμεροῦς, ὃ καλεῖται Φερεκράτειον. By this classification, cola 9, 10, are catalectic antispastic trimeters, as in Eccl. 917 = 923 (p. 19). Hephaestion designates the middle syzygy of such metres as καθαρὰ ἀντισπαστική (32, 17 f.). The acatalectic form is the well-known Asclepiadean (Heph. 34, 1 ff.). Weil classified cola 9, 10 as Ionics. See *Bulletin de correspondance Hellénique*, XIX (1895), p. 411.¹ See also von Wilamowitz, *Sitzungsberichte der Kön. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1902, p. 894. But if we take the variable forms of the first foot in antispastic metre into account, what shall be said in explanation of Ionic metres in which the first foot becomes υ-- or -υ-, not to mention the possible υυυ- or even υυ-? The same analysis applied to colon 14 (the well-known Pherecratean) would give an acatalectic Ionic dimeter (--- υυ_υ) closing a period.

¹ Compare his *Études de littérature et de rythmique grecques* (1902), p. 205 f.

A catalectic antispastic trimeter, with the second syzygy iambic, was called by the metricians Φαλαίκειον. Cf. Hephaestion 33, 17 ff., who quotes Cratinus (321):

χαῖρ' ὦ χρυσόκερως βαβάκτα κήλων,	---υ υ_υ_ υ_--
Πάν, Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἐμβατεύων.	_υ_υ υ_υ_ υ_--

This trimeter occurs also in the following (1, 2):

Ecclesiazusae 938-941 = 942-945

εἴθ' ἐξῆν παρὰ τῇ νέᾳ καθεύδειν	---υ υ_υ_ υ_--
καὶ μὴ ᾗδαι πρότερον διασποδῆσαι	---υ υ_υ_ υ_--
940 ἀνάσιμον ἢ πρεσβύτεραν·	υυ_υ_---υυ_
οὐ γὰρ ἀνασχετὸν τοῦτο γ' ἐλευθέρῳ.	_υυ_ υ_--- υ_υ_

The correction of *πρεσβύτερον*, the reading of the Mss. in 940, is due to Bothe. For the apparent anapaest at the beginning of 3, see p. 7 f. above, but the metrical constitution of cola 3, 4, is uncertain. No part of this lyric may be taken as exemplifying the usage of Aristophanes, since he here adopts a traditional form of the scolium, which was an inheritance from an early time. Cf. the laughable use our poet makes of the Phalaecean in Vesp. 1226, 1227, 1248, and with colon 4 above, cf. Vesp. 1245-1247. These are the only instances of the combination of choriamb and antispast (in this order) in Aristophanes. — For a discussion of this form of the scolium, see von Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, 316 ff.

Aristophanes has used the Phalaecean, in conjunction with a preceding antispastic tetrameter, the greater Asclepiadean or Σαπφικὸν ἑκκαίδεκάσύλλαβον (Heph. 35, 5 ff.), in parodying Alcaeus (frag. 84), in Aves 1410 ff.:

ὄρνιθες τίνες οἷδ' οὐδὲν ἔχοντες πτεροποίκιλοι,	
τανυσίπτερε ποικίλα χελιδοῖ;	
	---υ υ_--- υ_--- υ_υ_
	υυ_υ υ_υ_ υ_--

Cf. v. 1415. Aristophanes uses the form υυ in the first part of the antispastic syzygy both here (in 1412, 1415) and in Ran. 1324 in parody. With colon 1 cf. Vesp. 1238 (scoliotic). — In *Mélanges*

Henri Weil (1898, p. 449 ff.) von Wilamowitz argues for Ionic scansion also of the Phalaeceum. See also Schröder's analysis of the two Asclepiadeans in *Philologus* LXIV (1905), pp. 493 ff.

The free combination of choriambic and antispastic cola, without fixed discrimination of order, is illustrated by fragments of two of the lost plays of Aristophanes. Cf. 109 :

Εἰρήνη βαθύπλουτε καὶ	1	___υ υ_υ_
ζευγάριον βοεικόν,		__υυ_ υ__
εἰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ πανσαμένῳ		__υυ_ _υυ_
τοῦ πολέμου γένοιτο		__υυ_ υ__
σκάψαι κάποκλάσαι τε καὶ	5	___υ υ_υ_
λουσαμένῳ διελκύσαι		__υυ_ υ_υ_
τῆς τρυγὸς ἄρτι· λιπαρὸν		__υυ_ _υυ_
καὶ ῥάφανον φ ὄντι.		__υυ_ υ_υ

Add 141 :

ὦ πρεσβῦτα, πότερα φιλεῖς	1	___υ υυυυ_
τὰς δρυπετεῖς ἐταίρας		__υυ_ υ__
ἢ σὺ τὰς ὑποπαρθένους,		__υ_υ υ_υ_
ἀλμάδας ὡς ἐλάας,		__υυ_ υ__
στιφράς; * * * * *	5	__** ****

For υυυυ_ in 1, see p. 15.

Cf. also 695, where the cola are all catalectic :

ὅστις ἐν ἡδυόμοις		__υυ_ υ__
στρώμασι παννυχίζων		__υυ_ υ__
τὴν δέσποιναν ἐρεΐδεις.		___υ υ__

Cf. also Pherecrates 131 :

ᾶ μαλάχας μὲν ἐξερῶν,	1	__υυ_ υ_υ_
ἀναπνέων δ' ὑάκινθον,		υυυ_υυ__
καὶ μελιλώτινον λαλῶν		__υυ_ υ_υ_
καὶ ῥόδα προσσεσηρῶς·		__υυ_ υ__
ὦ φιλῶν μὲν ἀμάρακον,	5	__υ_υ υ_υ_
προσκινῶν δὲ σέλινα,		___υ υ__
γελῶν δ' ἱπποσέλινα καὶ		υ__υ υ_υ_
κοσμοσάνδαλα βαίνων		__υ_υ υ__

ἔγχει κάπιβόα τρίτον
 παιῶν', ὡς νόμος ἐστίν. 10 ---υ υ--υ

Five tetrameters. The last three are Priapeans (p. 15).

Iambic and antispastic cola may be combined in successive series, as in the following :

Ecclesiiazusae 911-917 = 918-923

911 αἰαῖ τί ποτε πείσομαι; 1 ---υυυ.υ--
 οὐχ ἦκει μούταῖρος. υ--υ υ--υ
 912 μόνη δ' αὐτοῦ λείπομ'. ἦ υ--υ υ--υ
 γάρ μοι μήτηρ ἄλλη βέβηκε. ---υ ---υ υ--υ
 καὶ τᾶλλα μ' οὐδὲν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα δεῖ λέγειν. Trimeter.
 915 ἄλλ' ὦ μαί' ἱκετεύομαι, 5 ---υ υ--υ
 κάλει Ὀρθαγόραν, ὅπως υ--υ υ--υ
 σεαυτῆς κατόναι', ἀντιβολῶ σε. υ--υ υ--υ υ--υ

A song ἀπὸ πορνείου! This may account for the hiatus in 911 and some other irregularities in form and correspondence. It is not even certain that the two parts correspond as ode and antode; cola 3, 4 are lacking in what seems to be the antode.

I have adopted Dobree's reading of the trimeter (verse 914), for which R has καὶ τᾶλλ' οὐδὲν μετὰ ταῦτα δεῖ λέγειν. In 921 read ὑφαρπάσαις with Scaliger for ὑφαρπάσαιο in R. In 916 I have omitted τὸν which is read in R before Ὀρθαγόραν, and in the next verse have read σεαυτῆς for σαντῆς (R). On the form of colon that ends the lyric (7), cf. Eq. 559, 560 = 589, 590, and see p. 15 above. For υ--υ (6, 7) as the first syzygy in an antispastic colon, cf. Thesm. 996, the refrain Ὑμῆν ὦ Ὑμεναίῳ (Av. 1736 = 1742, 1743, 1754), and Pherecrates 109, 4 (p. 25); 131, 7 (p. 18).

Choriambic, antispastic, and iambic cola are combined in the following :

Thesmophoriazusae 990-994 = 995-1000

995 ἀμφὶ δὲ σοὶ κτυπείται 1 ---υυ υ--
 Κιθαιρώνιος ἦχώ, υ--υ υ--
 μελάμφυλλά τ' ὄρη υ--υ υ--
 δάσκια πετρῶδεις τε νάπαι βρέμονται. υ--υ υ--
 κύκλω δὲ περὶ σὲ κισσὸς 5 υ--υυυ υ--
 εὐπέταλος ἔλικι θάλλει. υ--υυυυ--

In 990, the reading of the Mss., εὔιον ὦ Διόννσε, is doubly in fault. Neither here nor at the end of the ode can εὔιον be right, and Διόννσε (υυ_υ) fails to correspond with κτυπείται. It is to be noted that all the cola in the lyric are catalectic. Enger reads Εὔιε, ὦ Διὸς σύ, but the hiatus is objectionable. Hermann's εὐοῖ, ὦ Διόννσε (_υ_υ υ_υ) involves the least change. For the correspondence in this case, cf. Vesp. 537 = 636 (p. 6). The third colon is a catalectic Pherecratean. This is singular, but it is paralleled by the catalectic prosodiac (Telesilleum), which is common, and is more likely than an assumed acephalous choriambic dimeter (υ_|_υυ_). The ode determines the form of 4. In the antode the Mss. read in 998 f. καὶ νάπαι πετρῶδεις. The correction is due to Enger. In 994 Hermann proposed ὦ εὔι', εὐοῖ εὐοῖ, | ὦ εὔι', ἀναχορεύων for the faulty εὔιον εὔιον εὐοῖ|. . . ἀναχορεύων of the Mss.

With the preceding lyric, cf. the following.

Aves 676-684

ὦ φίλη, ὦ ξουθή, ὦ	1	_υυ_ . _υ_
φίλτατον ὀρνέων		_υυ_ υ_
πάντων, ξύννομε τῶν ἐμῶν		___υ υ_υ_
ὑμνων, ξυντροφ' ἀηδοῖ,		___υ υ_
680 ἦλθες ἦλθες ὦφθης,	5	. _υ_ υ_
ἦδὺν φθόγγον ἐμοὶ φέρουσ'.		___υ υ_υ_
ἀλλ' ὦ καλλιβόαν κρέκουσ'		___υ υ_υ_
αὐλὸν φθέγμασιν ἡρινοῖς,		___υ υ_υ_
ἄρχου τῶν ἀναπαίστων.		___υ υ_

On 2, see p. 10.

Logaoedic, antispastic, and iambic cola may be combined :

Thesmophorizusae 1136-1159

Παλλάδα τὴν φιλόχορον ἐμοὶ	1	_υυ_υυ υυυ_
δεῦρο καλεῖν νόμος ἐς χορόν,		_υυ_υυ _υ_
παρθένον ἄζυγα κούρην,		_υυ_υυ _.
1140 ἦ πόλιν ἡμετέραν ἔχει		_υυ_υυ _υ_
καὶ κράτος φανερόν μόνῃ	5	_υ_υ υ_υ_
κληδοῦχός τε καλεῖται.		___υ υ_

	φάνηθ' ὦ τυράννους		υ _ _ υ _ _
	στυγοῦσ' ὥσπερ εἰκός.		υ _ _ υ _ _
	δῆμός τοί σε καλεῖ γυναι-		_ _ _ υ υ _ υ _
	κων· ἔχουσα δέ μοι μόλοις	10	_ υ _ υ υ _ υ _
1147	εἰρήνην φιλέορτον.		_ _ _ υ υ _ υ
	ἦκετ' εὖφρονες Ἰλαοι,		_ υ _ υ υ _ υ _
1149	πότνιαι, ἄλσος ἐς ὑμέτερον,		_ υ υ _ υ υ _ υ υ υ
	οὐ δὴ ἀνδράσιν οὐ θέμιτ' εἰσορᾶν		_ υ _ υ υ _ υ υ _ υ _
	ὄργια σεμνὰ θεοῖν, ἵνα λαμπάσιν	15	_ υ υ _ υ υ _ υ υ _ υ _
1154	φαίνεται ἄμβροτον ὄψιν.		_ υ υ _ υ υ _ _ _
	μόλετον ἔλθετον, ἀντόμεθ' ὦ		υ υ υ _ υ υ _ υ _
1156	Θεσμοφόρῳ πολυποτνία,		_ υ υ _ υ υ _ υ _
	εἰ καὶ πρότερόν ποτ' ἐπηκόω ἦλθετον, νῦν		_ _ υ υ _ υ υ _ υ υ _ υ _
	ἀφίκεσθ' ἱκετεύομεν ἐνθάδ' ἡμῖν.	20	υ υ _ υ υ _ υ υ _ υ _

This ode is altogether singular among the lyrics of Aristophanes in respect to the number of logaedic cola that occur in it. On logaedics in the ancient sense, see p. 1. Here these are mainly catalectic tetrapodies (1-4, 13, 16-18) of the same value in time as the interspersed Pherecrateans and iambics. On the trochaic opening of cola 14, 17, see Arist. Quint., p. 32, 37 f. and 33, 30 ff. (Jahn). The logaedic movement at the close of the lyric (19, 20) is ascending (anapaestic).

In 1150 Bothe corrected *θεμιτόν* (R); in 1158 Reisig *ἀφίκεσθον* (R).

G. Hermann (*Epitome*, p. 171, cf. *Elementa Doct. Met.*, p. 541) by numerous changes of the text attempted to establish correspondence of ode and antode between parts of this lyric. See also Reisig, *Coniectaneorum libri duo*, pp. xxi ff. and 302 ff.

Iambic, choriambic, antispastic, and logaedic cola may be combined in the same lyric, as in the following:

Thesmophoriazusae 352-371

	ξυνευχόμεσθα τέλεα μὲν	1	υ _ υ _ υ υ υ υ _
	πόλει τέλεα δὲ δῆμῳ		υ _ υ υ υ υ _
	τάδ' εὐγματ' ἐκγενέσθαι,		υ _ υ _ υ _
	τὰ δ' ἄρισθ' ὅσαις προσήκει		υ υ _ υ _ υ _
356	νικᾶν λεγούσαις· ὀπόσαι δ'	5	_ _ υ _ _ υ υ _
	ἐξαπατῶσιν παραβαίνουσί τε τοὺς		_ υ υ _ _ υ υ _ _ υ υ _

	ὄρκους τοὺς νενομισμένους		---υ υ-υ-
360	κερδῶν οὐνεκ' ἐπὶ βλάβῃ,		---υ υ-υ-
	ἢ ψηφίσματα καὶ νόμον		---υ υ-υ-
	ζητοῦσ' ἀντιμεθιστάναι,	10	---υ υ-υ-
	τὰ πόρρητά τε τοῖσιν ἐχ-		---υ υ-υ-
	θροῖς τοῖς ἡμετέροις λέγονσ',		---υ υ-υ-
	ἢ Μήδους ἐπάγουσι γῆ		---υ υ-υ-
366	κερδῶν οὐνεκ' ἐπὶ βλάβῃ,	14	---υ υ-υ-
	ἀσεβοῦσ' ἀδικοῦσί τε τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλ'		υυ-υυ- υυ-υυ- ---υ-
	[ὦ παγκρατὲς		
369	Ζεῦ ταῦτα κυρώσεις, ὦσθ'		--υ- --υ-
	ἡμῖν θεοὺς παραστατέιν		--υ- υ-υ-
	καίπερ γυναιξὶν οὔσαις.		--υ- υ--

The ode begins with four and closes with three iambic cola. (On colon 4 see p. 8.) The transition is through choriambic cola (5, 6) to Glyconic, which are followed by a logaoedic hexapody.

Bothe corrected ξυνευχόμεθα (R) in 1, Dindorf εὐγματα γενέσθαι (R) in 3, Hermann ἐξαπατῶσι (R) in 6 and ἀσεβοῦσιν ἀδικοῦσιν (R) in 15, and Bentley ἐνεκ' (R) in 8 (cf. 14). In 12 λέγονσ' is due to Suidas (λέγουσιν R), and in 14 κερδῶν to Reiske (χώρας R).

Hiatus in 8, 14. This is extremely rare at the close of the acatalectic dimeter.

Isolated antispastic dimeters occur in the extant comedies of Aristophanes, as Vesp. 319-322 (τηροῦμαι κτέ.) in transition from prosodiacs to anapaests, and the refrain Ὑμῶν ὦ Ὑμέναι' ὦ, Aves 1736 = 1742, 1743, following prosodiacs, and Aves 1754, at the close of a dactylic series.

III Polyschematist Cola

In all the cola thus far considered in this investigation the only other form that has occurred in combination with choriamb or antispast to constitute a colon has been the iambic syzygy. The choriambic colon, if not pure, is ἐπίμικτον πρὸς τὰς ἱαμβικάς (Heph. 30, 7); the antispastic colon always combines at least one iambic syzygy, acatalectic or catalectic, with the antispast or antispasts (Heph. 32, 15 ff.).

But there occurs also the combination of antispast with choriambus, in the order named (υυ-υ υυ-), the antispast now admitting an addi-

tional variation of form. Hephaestion fully recognizes and adequately describes this form of the dimeter in his account of the polyschematist Priapean (57, 14 ff.): τὸ Πριάπειον, οὐ μόνον ἰαμβικῇ τῇ δευτέρᾳ χρώμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χοριαμβικῇ· καὶ τὸν ἀντίσπαστον ἔσθ' ὅτε, τὸν πρῶτον τοῦ παντὸς μέτρου, εἰς σπονδεῖον περαιούσιν, ἐάν τε ἀπὸ ἰάμβου ἄρχηται, ἐάν τε ἀπὸ τροχαίου, κατὰ τὸ δεδομένον, ἐάν τε ἀπὸ σπονδαίου. Hephaestion here unequivocally designates the first syzygy as antispastic, notwithstanding its additional variation of form. It is, in truth, multi-form. The opening movement may be not only υ_ and _υ and __, but also υυυ; the following movement is _υ or __. Hephaestion classifies these antispastic-choriambic dimeters, examples of which he found in Corinna, as 'polyschematist Glyconics' (58, 3 ff.). The forms that particularly struck his attention were υυυ_υ υυ_ and ____ _υυ_. Both frequently occur in comedy, especially the latter.

This form of the δόμετρον μικτόν occurs in 1457-1461 = 1469-1473 of the following lyric:

Vespae 1450-1461 = 1462-1473

1450	ζηλῶ γε τῆς εὐτυχίας	1	__υ_	_υυ_
	τὸν πρέσβυν οἱ μετέστη		__υ_	υ__
	ξηρῶν τρόπων καὶ βιοτῆς·		υ_υ_	_υυ_
	ἕτερα δὲ νῦν ἀντιμαθὼν		υυυυ	_υυ_
	ἧ μέγα τι μεταπεσεῖται	5	υ_υ_υ_υ_	__
	ἐπὶ τὸ τρυφῶν καὶ μαλακόν·		υ_υ_υ_	_υυ_
	τάχα δ' αἶν ἴσως οὐκ ἐθέλοι.		υ_υ_υ_	_υυ_
1457	τὸ γὰρ ἀποστῆναι χαλεπὸν		υ_υ_υ_	_υυ_
	φύσεος, ἣν ἔχει τις αἰεί.		υ_υ_υ_υ	_υυ_
	καίτοι πολλοὶ ταῦτ' ἔπαθον·	10	____	_υυ_
	ξυνόντες γνώμας ἑτέρων		υ_υ_υ	_υυ_
	μετεβάλλοντο τοὺς τρόπους.		υ_υ_υ_υ	_υ_υ

The first seven cola are mixed choriambic (1, 3, 4, 6, 7) or iambic dimeters (2, 5). The last five are 'polyschematist' dimeters. The normal form of catalexis in the latter, the last member of the dimeter being a choriamb, is seen in 12. Hephaestion is perfectly clear on this point. In speaking of catalexis in choriambic metre he recognizes not only an ἰαμβικῇ κατακλείς but also a choriambic; the choriambic colon,

he says, has a close of its own (κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν). Cf. 30, 8 ff.: ὥς ἐπίπαν δέ, ὅτε καταληκτικόν ἐστιν, εἰς τὴν ἱαμβικὴν κατακλείδα περαιοῦται, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, εἰς ἀμφίβραχον, ἢ βακχεῖον διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον. περαιοῦται μὲν γὰρ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν, τὸν δάκτυλον ἢ κρητικόν.

The reading μεταπεσεῖται in 5 is due to Bentley. Here V has μεταπίσεται, and R μέγα πείσεται. In 9 φύσεως is read in both R and V; Küster corrected this to φύσεος. In 12 both R and V have μετεβάλλοντο in the ode and κατακοσμήσαι in the antode. On this anapaest, see above p. 8.

Pherecrates used this metre in the Κραπαταλοί (96):

τοῖς δὲ κριταῖς	1	—υυ—
τοῖς νυνὶ κρίνουσι λέγω,		---- υυ—
μὴ ᾽πιορκεῖν μηδ' ἀδίκως		—υ— υυ—
κρίνειν, ἢ νῆ τὸν φίλιον		---- υυ—
μῦθον εἰς ὑμᾶς ἕτερον	5	—υ— υυ—
Φερεκράτης λέξει πολὺ τού-		υυυ—υυ—
του κακηγορίστερον.		—υ—υ —υυ

As Bergk surmised, this was probably the close of the πνίγος of a parabasis, to which it would be admirably adapted. Cf. Pherecrates 95. Pherecrates employed this dimeter also in the Ἄγριοι (13):

ἐνθρύσκοισι καὶ βρακάνοις	1	—υ— υυ—
καὶ στραβήλοισι ζῆν· ὁπότεν δ'		—υ— υυ—
ἤδη πεινώσι σφόδρα,		---- υυ
ὥσπερ εἰ τοὺς πουλύποδας		—υ— υυ—
* * * νύκτωρ περιτρώ-	5	***— υυ—
γειν αὐτῶν τοὺς δακτύλους.		---- —υ—

Cf. Eupolis 362.

This dimeter might be used in free combination with Glyconic cola, as in the Φοίνισσαι of Aristophanes (561):

στίλβη θ' ἢ κατὰ νύκτα μοι	—υ— υ—υ—
φλόγ' ἀνασειράζεις ἐπὶ τῷ	υυυ—υυ—
λυχνείῳ. * * * *	---- * ***

Cf. Philyllius 5 :

πάντα γὰρ ἦν	1	_υυ_
μέστ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ μεираκίων		----_υυ_
πινόντων, ὅμοῦ δ' ὁμάδῳ		----υ_υυ_
γράφει ἦν μεγάλαισιν οἰ-		_υ_υ_ υ_υ_
νου χαίροντα λεπασταῖς.	5	----υ_υ_

It might be used also in combination with both Glyconic and choriambic cola, as in Pherecrates 109 :

ὑπ' ἀναδενδράδων ἀπαλὰς	1	υυυ_υ_υυ_
ἀσπαλάθους πατοῦντες		_υυ_ υ_
ἐν λειμῶνι λωτοφόρῳ,		----υ_υυ_
κύπειρόν τε δροσώδῃ,		υ_υ_ υ_
κάνθρυσκου μαλακῶν τ' ἔων	5	----υ_υ_
λείμακα καὶ τριφύλλον.		_υυ_ υ_

Three tetrameters, of which the second is a 'polyschematist' Priapean (p. 23). Cf. also Aristophanes *Γῆρας* (142).

Aristophanes employs it in a similar manner, in transition from a choriambic colon to Glyconics (a Priapean), in the tenth colon of the following lyric, which begins with six choriambic cola followed by two dactylic cola in logaoedic time :

Nubes 563-574 = 595-606

563 ὑψιμέδοντα μὲν θεῶν	1	_υυ_ υ_υ_
Ζῆνα τύραννον ἐς χορὸν		_υυ_ υ_υ_
πρῶτα μέγαν κικλήσκω·		_υυ_ υ_
τόν τε μεγασθενῆ τριαίνης ταμίαν,		_υυ_ υ_υ_ _υυ_
γῆς τε καὶ ἀλμυρᾶς θαλάσ-	5	_υυ_ υ_υ_
568 σης ἄγριον μοχλευτήν·		_υυ_ υ_
καὶ μεγαλώνυμον ἡμέτερον πατέρ'		_υυ_υυ_ _υυ_υυ_
Αἰθέρα σεμνότατον βιοθρέμμονα πάντων.		_υυ_υυ_ _υυ_υυ_ _
τόν θ' ἵππονῶμαν, ὃς ὑπερ-		__υ_ _υυ_
λάμπροις ἀκτῖσιν κατέχει	10	----_υυ_
γῆς πέδον μέγας ἐν θεοῖς		_υ_υ_ υ_υ_
574 ἐν θνητοῖσί τε δαίμων.		----υ_υ_

There is an almost perfect analysis of this lyric in the Aldine scholia.¹ With this should be compared the Byzantine scholia preserved in cod. Vat. 1294 and cod. Par. 2821.²

The combination of the acatalectic and catalectic forms of this dimeter gives the celebrated Eupolidean period (Heph. 59, 1 ff.), which Aristophanes has employed *κατὰ στίχον* in the parabasis of the Nubes, 518-562. The second foot is invariably a choriamb, the close is invariably choriambic (—υ—). The forms of the first syzygy in these forty-five verses, arranged in the order of frequency of occurrence, are : ——— (sixteen times), ———υ (nine times), —υ—— (eight times), —υ—υ (seven times), υ—υ— (once), with four doubtful cases : ———υ (bis), υυυ—υ, and —υ——. The forms of the third syzygy are ——— (twelve times), —υ—υ (eleven times), —υ—— (ten times), ———υ (five times), υ—— (three times), υ——υ (once), with three doubtful cases —υ—υ, —υ——, υ——.

This verse was much affected by the comic poets. Cf. Cratinus 98 :

παντοίοις γε μὴν κεφαλὴν	1	—υ—υ —υυ—
ἀνθέμοις ἐρέπτομαι		—υ—υ —υ—
λειρίοις, ῥόδοις, κρίνεσιν,		—υ—υ —υυ—
κοσμοσανδάλοις, ἴοις		—υ—υ —υ—
καὶ σισυμβρίοις, ἀνεμω-	5	—υ—υ —υυ—
νῶν κάλυξί τ' ἡριναῖς,		—υ—υ —υ—
ἐρπύλλῳ, κροκοῖς, ὑακίν-		———υ —υυ—
θοις, ἐλειχρύσου κλάδοις,		—υ—— —υ—
οἰνάνθησιν, ἡμεροκαλ-		———υ —υυ—
λεῖ τε τῷ φιλουμένῳ,	10	—υ—υ —υ—
ἀνθρύσκου * * * * *		———* ****
* * ναρκίσσου φόβῳ		**—— —υ—
τῷ τ' αἰφροῦρῳ μελιλώ-		—υ—— —υυ—
τῷ κάρα πνικάζομαι,		—υ—υ —υ—
καὶ γὰρ κύτισος αὐτόματος	15	—υυυυ—υυ—
παρὰ Μέδοντος ἔρχεται.		υυυ—υ—υ—

¹ Dindorf, IV, 1, p. 484; Dübner, p. 108 f.; Thiemann, p. 37 f.

² See Zacher, *Die Handschriften und Classen der Aristophanesscholien* (1888), p. 634 f.

Cf. Cratinus 74, 318. Pherecrates also used the verse, as in 64 :

κᾶτα μυροπωλεῖν τί παθόντ'	1	—υυυ—υυ—
ἄνδρ' ἐχρῆν καθήμενον		—υ—υ —υυ
ὑψηλῶς ὑπὸ σκιαδεῖ-		—υ—υ —υυ—
ψ, κατεσκευασμένον		—υ— —υ—
συνέδριον τοῖς μειρακίοις	5	υυυ—υυ—
ἐλλαλεῖν δι' ἡμέρας;		—υ—υ —υ—
αὐτίκ' οὐδείς οὐδὲ μαγεί-		—υ— —υυ—
ραιναν εἶδε πώποτε,		—υ—υ —υυ
οὔτε μὴν οὐδ' ἰχθυοπώ-		—υ— —υυ—
λαιναν. * * * * *	10	—υ** **

Cf. also Pherecrates 29, 47, 122, 132, 191, Eupolis 78, 120, Aristophanes 54, 55, Plato 92, 169, Alexis 206 and 237. The last reads :

νῦν δ' ἵνα μὴ	1	—υυ—
παντελῶς Βοιωτίοι		—υ—υ —υ—
φαίνεσθ' εἶναι τοῖς διασύ-		— — — — —υυ—
ρειν ὑμᾶς εἰθισμένοις,		— — — — —υ—
ὥς ἀκίνητοι φρεσὶ καὶ	5	—υ— —υυ—
βοᾶν καὶ πίνειν μόνον		υ— —υ—
καὶ δειπνεῖν ἐπιστάμενοι		— — — υ —υυ—
διὰ τέλους τὴν νύχθ' ὄλην		υυυ— —υ—
γυμνοῦθ' αὐτοὺς θᾶπτον ἅπαν-		— — — — —υυ—
ΤΕΣ. * * * * *	10	υ—*** **

The text of some of these fragments is uncertain. In colon 15 of Cratinus 98 the manuscripts of Athenaeus read καὶ κύτισος. Hermann proposed καὶ γὰρ, Porson κᾶμοι, Meineke καὶ δῆ. The resulting form (—υυυ) is not found elsewhere. Likewise κᾶτα μυροπωλεῖν in the first colon of Pherecrates 64 is Casaubon's correction of καταμυροπωλεῖν. This gives —υυυ— (for —υ—), which cannot be paralleled in Eupolidean verse.

The theory here advanced that the Eupolidean verse is a combination of the acatalectic and catalectic forms of the polyschematist dimeter seems to be established by the facts, and the verse, thus regarded, has its exact parallel in the pure Priapean, which combines Glyconic and catalectic Glyconic (Pherecratean). See p. 15. The ordinary explanation of this period found in modern books, that it consists of a poly-

schematist dimeter and catalectic trochaic dimeter, is not borne out by the facts and probably arises from an incautious interpretation of the account of it given by Hephaestion, as follows (59, 1 ff.): καὶ τὸ Εὐπολίδειον τὸ καλούμενον ἐπιχοριαμβικὸν πολυσχημάτιστόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ τὰς τροχαϊκὰς παρὰ τάξιν ποιούσι δέχεσθαι τὸν σπονδείον· ἐνίστε δὲ καὶ ἀντισπαστικὸν καθαρὸν ποιούσιν, οἶον

εὐφράνας ἡμᾶς ἀπόπεμπ' οἴκαδ' ἄλλον ἄλλοσε.

ὁ σῶφρων τε χῶ καταπύγων ἄριστ' ἤκουσάτην.

It is important to note, first, that Hephaestion's phrasing, "*pure antispast*," shows that he regards the 'trochaic' element also as antispastic (see p. 13 f.), and secondly, that the examples which he quotes make it clear that when he speaks of variations in the form of these 'trochaic' syzygies of the verse, he is thinking of the first half of it quite as much as the second. This understood, no exception need be taken to his account of it, especially in view of the brevity of statement that he imposed upon himself throughout his Manual. He is explaining the form of a polyschematist tetrameter in which he has observed two prevailing forms in the two cola that compose it, namely $_ \cup _ \cup$ $_ \cup _$ and $_ _ _ _$ $_ \cup _$ in the first half and $_ \cup _ \cup$ $_ _$ and $_ _ _ _$ $_ _$ in the second half, with important substitutes that take the forms $_ _ _ _$ $_ \cup _$ and $_ _ _ _$ $_ _$. He might proceed from any one of these three sets of forms to explain the combinations of 'trochaic,' 'spondaic,' and antispastic elements that appear in the first and third syzygies, but the 'trochaic' is obviously the simplest. The assumption that the fundamental rhythm is trochaic would be erroneous, but is no doubt furthered by the form of κατάληξις, since $_ \cup _$ is the normal κατακλείς of both choriambic and trochaic metres.

Probably it is from this point of view that the verse named Κρατίνειον should be approached, as a combination of choriambic dimeter and polyschematist dimeter, but here in the *pure* form of the verse the 'trochaic' syzygy prevails in the third foot to the exclusion of all other forms. Hephaestion describes it as follows (55, 7 ff.): ἔστι γὰρ ἐκ χοριαμβικοῦ ἐπιμίκτου, τοῦ τὴν δευτέραν ἱαμβικὴν ἔχοντος, καὶ τροχαϊκοῦ ἐφθημιμεροῦς. He then quotes from Cratinus (324):

Εὖτε κισσοχαῖτ' ἀναξ,

χαῖρ' ἔφασκ' Ἐκφαντίδης,

1 $_ \cup _ _$ $_ _ _ _$

$_ \cup _ _$ $_ _ _ _$

πάντα φορητά, πάντα τολ-	—υυ— υ—υ—
μητὰ τῷδε τῷ χορῷ,	—υ—υ —υ—
πλὴν Ξενίου νόμοισι, καὶ	5 —υυ— υ—υ—
Σχοινίωνος, ὦ Χάρον.	—υ—υ —υυ

Cf. Cratinus 41, 327. Also Cratinus 9, 146, 210, where the text is uncertain.

A polyschematist form of the Cratineum was also in use by the comic poets, which Hephaestion (55, 15 ff.) describes as follows: πολυσχηματιστον δὲ αὐτὸ πεποιήκασιν οἱ κωμικοί. τοὺς γὰρ σπονδαίους τοὺς ἐμπύπτοντας ἐν τοῖς ἱαμβικοῖς καὶ τοῖς τροχαϊκοῖς παρὰ τάξιν παραλαμβάνουσιν ἐν ταῖς μέσαις συζυγίαις, τῇ τροχαικῇ καὶ τῇ ἱαμβικῇ. This would give the form —υυ— υ—υ— —υ—υ —υυ. He then quotes from the Ἀστροτεύτοι of Eupolis an example, which he says exhibits his 'extreme licence' (37):

ἄνδρες ἑταῖροι δεῦρ' ἤδη	—υυ— ----
τὴν γνώμην προσίσχετε,	----υ —υυ
εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ μὴ τι μεί-	—υυ— --υ—
ζον πράττουσα τυγχάνει.	----υ —υ—

This is the only example now extant.

Finally there is a famous lyric in Aristophanes, with which we may fitly lighten the close of this investigation, that is designed to exhibit the 'extreme licence' of another great poet, the sources of whose shameless extravagances are first stated in preceding trimeters:

οὗτος δ' ἀπὸ πάντων μελοφορεῖ πορνωδικῶν,¹
 σκολίων Μελήτου, Καρκινῶν αὐλημάτων,
 θρήνων, χορείων. τάχα δὲ δηλωθήσεται.

This lyric illustrates all the forms we have been considering — and some others! — as follows:

Ranae 1309-1328

Αἰσ. ἀλκύνες, αἶ παρ' ἀενάοις θαλάσσης	— υυυ—υ —υυ— υ—
1310 κύμασι στωμύλλετε,	—υ— —υυ
τέγγουσαι νοτίοις πτερῶν	----υ υ—υ—

¹ μελοφορεῖ πορνωδικῶν Rogers: μὲν φέρει πορνιδίων Mss.

	ῥανίσι χροά δροσιζόμεναι •	υυυυυυ_υυ_
	αἶ θ' ὑπωρόφιοι κατὰ γωνίας	5 _υ_υυ _υυ_υ _
	εἰεἰεἰλίσσετε δακτύλοις φάλαγγες	_ _ _ _ υ υ_υ_ υ_υ
1315	ἱστόπονα πηνίσματα,	_υυυ_ _υυ
	κερκίδος αἰδοῦ μελέτας,	_υυυ_ _υυ_
	ἔν' ὁ φίλανλος ἔπαλλε δελ-	υυυ_υ υ_υ_
	φῖς πρόραις κυανεμβόλοις	10 _ _ _ υ υ_υ_
	μαντεῖα καὶ σταδίους,	_ _ υ _υυ_
1320	οἰνάνθας γάνος ἀμπέλου,	_ _ _ υ υ_υ_
	βότρνος ἔλικο παυσίπονον.	υυυυυυ_υυ_
	περίβαλλ' ὦ τέκνον ὠλένας.	υυ_ _ υ υ_υ_
	ὄρῳ τὸν πόδα τοῦτον; Δι. ὄρῳ.	15 υ_ _ υ υ_υυ_
Αἴσ.	τί δέ; τοῦτον ὄρῳ; Δι. ὄρῳ.	υυ_υ υ_υ_
Αἴσ.	τοιαυτὶ μέντοι σὺ ποιῶν	υ_ _ _ _υυ_
	τολμᾷς τὰμὰ μέλη ψέγειν,	_ _ _ υ υ_υ_
	ἀνὰ τὸ δωδεκαμήχανον	υυυ_υ υ_υ_
	Κυρήνης μελοποιῶν;	20 _ _ _ υ υ_ _

These jumbled quotations from Euripides are in truth a medley, not only of incongruous sentiments, but also of varied and, as Aristophanes believed, vicious metrical forms. The comic poet has managed to bring together in brief space a great variety of cola.¹ The first appears to be an extravagant variation of the Sapphic hendecasyllable (Heph. 43, 19 f.), the prefixed syllable striking the note that is heard more clearly in the trimeter that follows in the sixth colon. Cola 2, 7, 11, 17, are polyschematist dimeters, the first two with catalexis, as in the last half of the Eupolidean. These two are not pure catalectic trochaic dimeters, controlled by the colonic stress appropriate to trochaics. *Pure* trochaic cola have no business in this 'mixed' company! In 7, _υυυ_ seems a wild extravagance, but it is identical in form with Casaubon's restora-

¹ The metrical constitution of some of these cola is necessarily doubtful, and the attempt to determine it can be no more than tentative in some cases. As to the first colon, Aristophanes has *ἀέλων* (υ_ _) in Ran. 147, but *ἀενάοις* (_υυ_) in Nub. 275. In Attic lyric poetry, including the lyrics of Euripides, *ἀέναιος* is invariably _υυυ. The colon, therefore, cannot be iambic (_υυυυ_ υυυυ_ υ_ _). Nor can the second and seventh cola be classified as syncopated iambic dimeters, because of the short ultimates. No syllaba anceps occurs in the ode, in acatalectic cola, and hiatus occurs only in 4, where there is shift to a new theme.

tion of the first syzygy of Pherecrates 64, 1. (See p. 27.) Cola 4, 8, 13 are mixed choriambic dimeters. Colon 5 is logaoedic, and 6 a Phalaecean, with the first syllable prefixed and trilled. The remaining cola are Glyconics.

When these cola are tested by the standard of the comic poet's own practice, his rival's reckless and shameful disregard of metrical form becomes apparent. A sufficient number of these cola are deformations, when judged by the severe and simple taste of Aristophanes, to damn the lyric as a whole. He himself never forces a syllable to do double duty, in order to secure a peculiar musical effect (6). He nowhere employs a mixed choriambic dimeter of the form uuuuuu uu (4, 13), nor polyschematist dimeters such as uuuu uu (7) and uu uuuu (11, acephalous), nor Glyconics such as uuuu uu and uuuu (14, 16¹). It is the last two that Aeschylus, as the representative of Aristophanes, especially reprobates. As he holds them up to ridicule, with much humor he incidentally forces Dionysus to perpetrate a third monstrosity (15) of which Euripides presumably was never guilty.

Those parts of Greek Comedy, except prosodiacs (p. 2), which have been treated by eminent modern metricians as 'logaoedic' have now been fully analyzed according to the doctrine of Hephaestion. The question naturally recurs with which this paper began. Do the lyrics and the stichic periods that have come under consideration consist, as Heliodorus and Hephaestion believed, of choriambic, iambic, antispastic, and polyschematist dimeters and trimeters, of the value, common to all, of 12 or 18 times, or are they 'logaoedics' under the modern definition of that term, and is the movement throughout 'dactylic'? I do not propose to discuss this question, but simply to add a few words of explanation and comment.

That the current definition of logaoedics does not rest on the authority of ancient metricians is generally conceded. Rossbach and Westphal state this fact, apparently with no thought that any other view can be entertained,² but Christ³ cites Diomedes and Bassus and Goodell

¹ $\tau\iota$ δέ; in R, V.

² *Allgemeine Theorie der griechischen Metrik*³, pp. 352 and 355.

³ *Metrik*², p. 459: "In der That ist der Choriambus nichts anders als eine katalektische daktylische Dipodie, und diese einfach natürliche Auffassung bricht selbst

appeals to Marius Victorinus¹ as grammarians who possessed the true doctrine on this important matter, and with varying clearness of apprehension regarded the rhythm of these metres as dactylic. These three Latin metricians all maintain the doctrine of the *metra derivata*. Marius Victorinus, to be sure, in one part of the composite work ascribed to him, accepts the nine prototypes which appear in Hephaestion and argues, it should be noted, the claims of antispastic metre with special vigor, but elsewhere he follows the rival system. Now it happens that the Pherecratean, if one disregards the variation of the first part of its first foot and allows here only the spondaic form, has

noch bei einigen Grammatikern durch, wie bei Diomedes, p. 508, und Bassus, p. 263." Diomedes in the place cited is writing *de versuum generibus* and says (Keil I, 508): "De choriambico: Choriambicus est qui constat choriambo pede, qui est ex longa et duabus brevibus et longa. huius exemplum est

ergo ades huc ambrosia de Veneris palude.

est in Horatio tale,

hoc deos vere Sybarin quid properas amando.

recipit hic in imo vel palimbacchium pedem, qui est ex brevi et duabus longis, vel amphibrachyn; qui est ex brevi et longa et brevi."

Bassus is writing *de Philicio metro* and says (Keil VI, 263 f.): "Philicius versus ex duplici pede constat, quem bacchicon musici, choriambicon grammatici vocant. habet longam et duas breves et longam, id est trochaeum et iambum. . . . exemplum eius tale est,

frugiferae sacra deae quae colitis mystica iunctaeque Iovi nefasto.

hunc hexametrum ex numero bacchico composuit Philicus, quo usus et etiam Archibulus, de quo auctore supra rettuli; clusit autem antibaccheo. numerus hic frequens est apud lyricos et praecipue apud Alcaeum, Sappho, Anacreonta. nascitur tamen et hic ab heroo, cuius dactylo primo, qui constat ex longa et duabus brevibus, si iunxeris sequentis dactyli uel spondei syllabam primam, facies choriambum hoc modo, 'arma virum,' et in sequenti versu 'Italiam.' ad summam pentametrum heroum, qui habet dactylos primos duos, velut hunc,

unde meus veniat mollis in ora liber,

adiectis duabus syllabis longis facies choriambicum ex heroo pentametro sic,

unde meus *nunc* veniat mollis in *haec* ora liber,

et

dum meus assiduo luceat igne focus

sic,

dum meus *hic* assiduo luceat *hoc* igne focus."

What light do Diomedes and Bassus here throw on the *rhythm* of choriambic metre?

¹ *Chapters on Greek Metric*, pp. 225 ff.

precisely the metrical constitution of one of the forms with which the heroic hexameter closes (---υυ-υ). This is, of course, a large 'if'; even conservative Aristophanes begins the Pherecratean with four interchangeable forms. Furthermore the Glyconic, if one fixes the form of its beginning in the same fashion as in the Pherecratean, and accounts its last syllable anceps and assumes it to be always short (it is always long in Aristophanes), has the metrical constitution of one of the forms with which the hexameter may open (---υυ-υυ). The Glyconic and Pherecratean, therefore, were a great resource for any metrician who was endeavoring to prove that Greek metres were derived from the heroic hexameter. Accordingly we find, in the prolix pages ascribed to Victorinus, all possible changes rung on his tiresome "sic te diva potens Cypri" and "grato Pyrrha sub antro." Not that he regarded the metrical constitution of the Glyconic as dactylic; three times in describing metres of Horace (and also elsewhere) he composes it of spondeus, choriambus, and pariambus (trochaeus, spondeus). But it was extremely useful to him in arguing for his fantastic and unhistorical theory of the derivation of metres. That is the purpose with which he rings the changes on the Glyconic, and one should be cautious in assuming that he has any other, namely that he believes and is endeavoring to show that the *rhythm* of this colon, as apart from its metre, is dactylic, a conception that in itself is not easy to grasp. There is a striking passage in the first chapter of his fourth book¹ which seems

¹ "Ad summam omnia metra, et quae inter se congruunt, et quae temporum ratione contraria sunt, si plenius consideres, ab heroo traducta sunt. et mehercules siquis excutere penitus velit, inveniet, ut supra diximus, omnia genera ab hexametro heroo et trimetro iambico derivata, quamvis et iambicum heroi sit traductivum, nec quicquam sine his per se posse subsistere. unde, ut diximus, haec duo metra ut elementa ceterorum ac semina habenda merito ac dicenda sunt. haec ita videri atque esse, ut diximus, si studiosa contemplatione exempla quae proponuntur adverteris, adprobabis. nam metrorum species, quamvis generis sui privilegio distinctae sint, tamen misceri inter se atque diversis communia effici ea videlicet ratione, qua cuncta, ut dictum est, ex eadem origine atque uno fonte derivantur, sic comprehenditur. legimus apud Horatium

sic te diva potens Cypri:

hoc glyconium metrum dicitur, quod constat ex spondeo choriambo et ultimo trochaeo vel eodem spondeo. commune hoc esse cum heroo trimetro, quod constat ex spondeo et duobus dactylis, cunctis in promptu est," etc. (Keil VI, 146, 147.)

to show clearly what his sole purpose is in the prolonged argumentation of this chapter and of most of the third book. There is no hint here, or elsewhere, that he is rhythmizing. Whoever believes that he is must accept the consequence, and be prepared to find dactylic rhythm not only in antispastic and choriambic metre, but also in both the Ionic forms.¹

Those who reject the doctrine of Heliodorus and Hephaestion sometimes speak in a light-hearted and semi-contemptuous way of the cola and periods recorded in the *Manual* as "paper-schemes," and assert that Hephaestion's mode of procedure, in determining the constitution of a metrical series, was to 'chop off' syllables four at a time, and, if at the end there was a remainder, to take refuge in brachycatalexis or hypercatalexis. This, of course, is pleasantry, as a glance at the metrical analyses of the lyrics discussed in this paper will show. Hephaestion was not ignorant of the allowed substitutions for normal forms in all these dimeters and trimeters, nor of the fact that, as the result of lawful substitutions, feet might contain five or even six syllables, and he had a singularly clear comprehension of the forms of catalexis. But this pleasantry recoils upon its projector, for it seems to be true that the lyrics of Aristophanes, at least, both here and elsewhere duly admit the measurement prescribed by the "schemes" of Hephaestion.

Finally objection is taken to the great variety and apparent irregularity of form in these cola, and it is asserted with confidence that they are not rhythmical.

The application of the 'logaoedic' theory obliterates in many of these cola, for example in the choriambo-iambic and the antispastic, the metrical identity of iambic syzygies that are recognized as iambic by Heliodorus and Hephaestion. But these iambic syzygies may, for the present, be dismissed. A sufficient number of unmixed iambic cola remain in the lyrics that have come under consideration above to point an important fact. These cola are free from admixture with choriambic or antispastics and are common ground both for those who adopt and for those who reject the 'logaoedic' theory and must be dealt with by both in the same manner; whether Hermann's 'anacrusis' is recognized or not does not affect the rhythm of iambic cola. Now it is precisely these iambic cola which show the greatest variety, and for that matter

¹ Marius Vict. VI, 127 and 128 (Keil).

apparent irregularity of form. Nor must these particular iambs be regarded as singular in constitution because of their association with mixed metres. There are twenty odd lyrics in Aristophanes composed in pure iambic metre, and in these are found not only nearly all the forms of the dimeter that have been given above, but also many others, such (omitting catalectic cola) as $\text{uuuu} \text{ uuuu}$, $\text{u} \text{ uuuu} \text{ uu}$, uuuu uu , uuuu uu , $\text{uuuuu} \text{ uu}$, $\text{uu} \text{ uuuu}$, $\text{uu} \text{ uuuu}$, $\text{uu} \text{ uuuu}$, $\text{uu} \text{ uuuu}$, uuuuu , $\text{uuuuu} \text{ uuuuu}$, etc. In comparison with these iambic cola, the mixed choriambic seem singularly staid and regular, admitting variety of form only through their admixture with iambic syzygies. The antispastic dimeters likewise show relatively a small number of different forms, but in these and the polyschematist dimeters the forms seem to be more irregular.

But in what does this irregularity consist? The colonic stress in all these cola seems to be iambic. Iambic form, at least, prevails almost everywhere. It is exclusive in the considerable number of pure iambic dimeters that are freely combined, in the lyrics which have been analyzed above, with choriambic and antispastic dimeters; mixed choriambic dimeters and antispastic dimeters are themselves always *ἐπίμικτα πρὸς τὰς ἰαμβικάς*. This fact may indicate the way to the solution of the vexed question of the apparent irregularity of form and alleged lack of rhythm in these dimeters, and this solution may be approached most easily by consideration of the Glyconic. This, in its normal constitution, according to Hephaestion, is $\text{u} \text{ uu} \text{ uu}$, antispast and iambic syzygy. The disturbance of the normal rhythm in this dimeter, assuming the rhythm to be iambic, may be accounted for by the principle with which we are familiar in modern music of inversion of rhythmic stress, or syncopation. In modern music the rhythmic beat falls on the note at the beginning of the measure; in ascending rhythm in Greek it falls on the note at the end. Adapting the form of statement to the Greek practice, syncopation in iambic rhythm was the process of inverting the normal rhythmic stress by beginning a tone on an accented beat and sustaining it into an unaccented one so that the proper emphasis was, in greater or less degree, carried forward to the latter.¹ Thus, whereas

¹ Or, if stress in the modern sense did not exist in ancient Greek, syncopation in iambic rhythm, in which the down-beat follows the up-beat, was the process of inverting the normal order of arsis and thesis. I purposely avoid raising a question that has

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moderns, with little if any feeling for quantity, may experience in rendering these cola, *without the music*, is surely not sufficient ground on which to assert that a Greek, *as he sang them*, may not have felt them to be as rhythmical and melodious as pure dactylic or pure iambic series.

THE MEDEA OF SENECA

BY HAROLD LOOMIS CLEASBY

I

IT is a well-known fact that the ancient Greek and Latin writers were prone to incorporate in their own productions, openly and without shame, whatever most pleased them in the works of their predecessors. Every writer of every age necessarily owes much to those who have gone before him, but to-day we should condemn as flagrant plagiarism a great deal of what was then in accordance with universal custom and sanctioned by the greatest names. Indeed, imitation was considered as obedience to the laws of literature rather than as a violation of them. Especially in verse did the recurrence of beautiful imagery or thought bestow a kind of liturgical stateliness upon a new poem that went far toward ensuring its power and permanence.¹ This principle was formulated to a certain extent by Ovid² when he replied to a petty detractor that the reason why he had appropriated certain lines of Virgil was *non subripiendi causa sed palam mutuandi, hoc animo, ut vellet agnosci*. But we cannot doubt that even in antiquity there were limits to legitimate imitation, and that these limits have been transgressed in the rhetorical dramas of L. Annaeus Seneca, those veritable treasures of other men's literary wealth.

Seneca's general method of composition may be briefly stated as follows. For the foundation some famous Greek tragedy is selected; sometimes a second play on the same subject, either in Greek or Latin, is called upon for some of its characteristic features (*contaminatio*); the situations and personages are more or less altered in order to secure greater opportunity for rhetorical display; the new tragedy is then built up in a robust, declamatory style and adorned with copious extracts from many sources, especially from the Latin poets. Among

¹ See *Harvard Studies*, XVII (1906), pp. 22 and 58, 66 ff.

² Seneca Rhet., *Suas.* 3, 7.

these Seneca makes comparatively little use of Virgil,¹ but draws extensively upon Horace,² especially in constructing the lyrical portions of his plays. Ovid³ seems to have exerted a greater influence upon Seneca than did any other author either Latin or Greek. The two chief reasons why Seneca gave this preference to Ovid are, in the first place, that the latter's works are exceedingly rich in mythological lore, which was just the sort of material the playwright had most need of; and secondly, that, however much they may have differed from each other as men, as writers the two are in certain fundamental characteristics closely akin.⁴

Medea as a theme for tragedy became famous in the master-piece of Euripides, but the essential elements of the plot had already been used by Neophron.⁵ The number of Greek *Medeas* written after Euripides proves the popularity of the subject; of most of these we know little more than the name of the author.⁶ In Latin, besides Seneca's tragedy, plays entitled *Medea* were written by Ennius,⁷ Accius, Ovid, Curiatius Maternus, and Lucan, to say nothing of later unknown dabblers⁸

¹ See Ter Haar Romeny, *De Auctore Tragoediarum quae sub Senecae nomine feruntur, Vergilii Imitatore*, Leyden, 1877.

² See Spika, *De Imitatione Horatii in Senecae canticis chori*, Vienna, 1890, pp. 14-20.

³ The present article is an expansion of part of a thesis, entitled *De Seneca Tragico Ovidi Imitatore*, which was presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy at Harvard University.

⁴ Compare Norden, *Die Antike Kunst-Prosa*, II, p. 892 f.

⁵ That Neophron's *Medea* was the earlier is not absolutely certain; see N. Wecklein's ed. of Eur. *Med.*, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 27-30.

⁶ Tragedies with this title are ascribed to the younger Euripides, Dicaeogenes, Carcinus, Diogenes, Biotus, and Melanthius (or Morsimus), and parodies to Strattis, Cantharus, Antiphanes, and Eubulus. Among the Romans, also, Pompeius Macer composed a *Medea* in Greek. On these writers see Wecklein, *op. cit.*, p. 24, note 2; Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, 2495 f.; and Th. C. H. Heine, *Corneille's "Médée" in ihrem Verhältnisse zu den Medea-Tragödien des Euripides und des Seneca betrachtet, etc., Französische Studien*, herausgegeben von G. Kortling and E. Koschwitz, I (1881), pp. 436-438.

⁷ From the fragments this appears to have been an almost literal translation; see O. Ribbeck, *Die römische Tragödie*, Leipzig, 1875, pp. 149-157.

⁸ See Martial 5, 53. We have also a Virgilian cento in the form of a *Medea*, *Anthologia Latina* of Bücheler-Riese, Leipzig, 1894, pp. 61-79; this is perhaps that of Hosidius Geta (c. 200) mentioned by Tertullian, *Praes. Her.* 39.

in literature, but none of these tragedies is now extant. Of these lost works that of Ovid is by far the most important; Leo¹ does not exaggerate its value in the least when he declares that for this single tragedy we would gladly give up all of Seneca's nine. Although one of Ovid's earliest literary ventures it was received with great favor, if we may judge from the commendation of two eminent critics. Tacitus in *Dial.* 12 says: *nec ullus Asinii aut Messallae liber tam illustris est quam Medea Ovidii aut Varii Thyestes*. Again, Quintilian, *Inst.* 10, 1, 98, speaks as follows: *Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum ille vir praestare potuerit, si ingenio suo imperare quam indulgere maluisset*.²

Seneca's *Medea* is generally considered one of the best of all his tragedies.³ He seems to have employed more care and industry here than in his other plays; the plot is more consistently developed, the characters have more individuality, the language is freer from bombast, and the choruses show a more symmetrical construction. Further, the excellence of the *Medea* is shown by the numerous adaptations made of it by the playwrights of modern times.⁴ In studying this tragedy, therefore, we are dealing with Seneca at his best; at the present day it is hardly necessary to state that even Seneca's best is far removed, both in kind and degree, from the unsurpassable excellence of the Greek drama.

At the first glance it is seen that Seneca has borrowed the main outlines of his plot from Euripides. The bearing of Ovid's *Medea* upon

¹ F. Leo, *L. Annaei Senecae Tragoediae*, Berlin, 1878-1879, I, p. 149.

² Ovid himself mentions his excursions into tragedy in *Am.* 2, 1, 3; 2, 18, 13; 3, 1, 11 and 67; *Trist.* 2, 553.

³ See Leo, *Sen. Trag.* I, p. 165, and Rajna, *La Medea di Lucio Anneo Seneca esaminata*, Piacenza, 1872, p. 9.

⁴ For a well-nigh complete list of these, see Th. C. H. Heine, *op. cit.*, p. 436 f.; his article discusses some aspects of a few of them. L. Schiller has a monograph entitled *Medea im Drama der alten und neuen Zeit*, Ansbach, 1865, which is of much the same nature as Heine's paper. Bühler's *Aehnlichkeiten und Verschiedenheiten in der Medea des Euripides, Seneca, und Corneille* I have not seen. The modern *Medeas* are, in general, of little importance; the most significant are the *Médée* of Corneille, 1635, the *Medea* of Richard Glover, 1761, and the *Medea* of Franz Grillparzer, 1824. The last is the concluding play in his trilogy, *Das goldene Vlies*.

the play is naturally much more obscure. Wilhelm Braun, in an article entitled *Die Medea des Seneca*,¹ gives, besides the parallels from Euripides, numerous citations of resemblances between Seneca's *Medea* and Ovid's extant works, but hazards no conjectures with reference to the lost tragedy. Leo² believes that the striking similarity of thought and phrase observable in Seneca's play and the epistle of Medea in the *Heroides* (12) testifies not to any immediate connection between them, but to a common origin in the lost *Medea* of Ovid. Leo has limited his comparisons to the epistle and the fragments of Ovid's play; we shall see in the following pages that many coincidences of word or idea between Seneca and Ovid's other poems render this hypothesis even more convincing. While incapable of absolute proof, it rests on two very strong probabilities: first, that inasmuch as Ovid was given to the Homeric habit of repeating himself,³ he reproduced portions of his tragedy in his later works; secondly, that Seneca, in composing his *Medea*, looked for suggestions to Ovid's famous play on the same theme rather than to various scattered passages in the other poems, which, moreover, do not deal directly with the subject.⁴

Two very brief fragments of Ovid's lost *Medea* have survived. One is quoted by Quintilian, *Inst.* 8, 5, 6: *nam, cum sit rectum 'nocere facile est, prodesse difficile,' vehementius apud Ovidium Medea dicit:*

servare potui: perdere an possim, rogas?

Leo⁵ assigns this to a scene between Medea and Jason, and believes that Seneca is attempting to surpass it in 120-123⁶:

¹ In *Rheinisches Museum*, XXXII, pp. 68-85.

² *Sen. Trag.* I, pp. 166-169.

³ Leo, *Sen. Trag.* I, p. 169, gives examples of such repetition; see also A. Lüneburg, *De Ovidio Sui Imitatore*, Jena, 1888.

⁴ Leo's theory has been very generally approved; Ehwald in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, LXXX, p. 27; Tolkiehn, *Quaest. ad Her. Ovid. Spect.*, p. 107; A. Palmer, *P. Ovidi Nasonis Heroides*, Oxford, 1898, p. 386; A. Pais, *Il Teatro di L. Anneo Seneca*, Turin, 1890, p. 29; M. Schanz, *Gesch. der röm. Litt.* (1899), II, p. 230. Tolkiehn now believes, but has hardly proved, that *Her.* 12 preceded the *Medea* (*Woch. f. kl. Phil.*, 1906, 1208 ff.).

⁵ *Sen. Trag.* I, p. 169.

⁶ The quotations of Seneca are made from the edition of Peiper and Richter, 1902; those of Ovid from the Merkel-Ehwald edition, 1888-1889; those of Euripides from the edition of Prinz-Wecklein of 1899. When no title follows the name of Seneca or Euripides, the reference is to the *Medea* of the writer in question.

merita contempsit mea
qui scelere flammas viderat vinci et mare?
adeone credit omne consumptum nefas?

and 560 f.:

vadis oblitus mei
et tot meorum facinorum?¹

The other fragment is found in the elder Seneca, *Suas.* 3, 7: *esse autem in tragoedia eius* (Ovidi):

feror huc illuc, vae, plena deo.

From these words Leo judges that Ovid's Medea was a much more furious, maenad-like creature than the heroine of Euripides, and to show that Seneca adopted the same conception of her, he adduces the following passages: 123 f., 382-385, 675 f., 738, 806 f., 849-851, 862-865.² Even this list does not exhaust Seneca's store of verses of the same tenor, but it suffices to show to what an extent the bacchic frenzy figures in his portrayal of Medea. As to the place of this second fragment in Ovid's play, it must be assigned to that portion which immediately precedes the catastrophe, unless he, like Seneca, allowed no gradations to Medea's fury.

In the extant works, aside from many brief allusions, Ovid deals with the career of the Colchian princess in the twelfth letter of the *Heroides* and in the seventh book of the *Metamorphoses*. In neither of these places does he relate in detail the slaying of the children, probably because he did not choose to retell the story which he had already dealt with in his drama.³ In the account in the *Metamorphoses* Medea's sojourn in Corinth is summed up in six or seven lines, viz., *Met.* 7, 391 f.:

tandem vipereis Ephyren Pirenida pennis
contigit.

¹ *Her.* 12, 75 f. may be descended from this fragment.

² *Sen. Trag.* I, p. 167.

³ See Lafaye, *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide et leurs modèles grecs*, Paris, 1904, p. 90 f. Moreover, for obvious reasons this episode could not well have been introduced into the *Epistle*, and, since it involved no change of form, would have contributed nothing to the chief end of the *Metamorphoses*.

and 394-399 :

sed postquam Colchis arsit nova nupta venenis
flagrantemque domum regis mare vidit utrumque,
sanguine natorum perfunditur impius ensis,
ultaque se male mater Iasonis effugit arma.
hinc Titaniacis ablata draconibus intrat
Palladias arces.

Although a somewhat petty detail, it should be noted that *Pirenis* is found only in Ovid and Seneca.¹ Again, in Euripides the poisonous flames which destroy the king and his daughter do not injure the royal palace, so far as we are informed, although earlier in the drama Medea considers the destruction of the palace by fire as a possible means of gratifying her revenge.² This passage may have suggested to Ovid the use of the conflagration as a means of making the original catastrophe even more terrible. Seneca's account, 885-887 :

avidus per omnem regiae partem furit
ut iussus ignis : iam domus tota occidit,
urbi timetur

seems to be derived from Ovid.³ Finally, in line 397 of the above citation from the *Metamorphoses*, it is said that Medea flees *Iasonis arma*. In the Greek play, Jason, when he comes upon the stage for the last time, is alone or at least accompanied only by the usual attendants of an important personage on the Greek stage. His purpose is to protect his children from the relatives of Creon, who, in their anger against Medea, may put an end to her offspring as well. In Seneca, Jason's chief purpose in coming is to punish Medea, and stress is put upon the fact that an armed force accompanies him. Just before his entrance Medea cries out, 971 f. :

quid repens affert sonus?
parantur arma meque in exitium petunt,

¹ Examples of this tendency on Seneca's part to copy rare proper names from Ovid are given on page 61, note 3.

² Eur. 377 f.

³ Hyginus, *Fab.* 25 and Diodorus Siculus 4, 54 also mention the burning of the palace.

and a little later Jason gives the following command to his soldiers, 980 f.:

huc, huc fortis armiferi cohors
conferte tela, vertite ex imo domum.

We see, therefore, that the testimony of the fragments and of this brief summary from the *Metamorphoses* confirms the belief that Seneca made use of Ovid's *Medea*.

II

The purpose of this article is to analyze Seneca's *Medea* with particular attention to the two chief sources, — Euripides and Ovid.¹ It will be assumed, according to Leo's theory, that in general² the resemblance of a passage in Seneca's play to extant verses of Ovid indicates an origin for this passage in Ovid's lost tragedy.

The opening act has little in common with the celebrated prologue of the Greek *Medea*, in which the old nurse, the pedagogue, and the children are so artistically set before us. In Seneca we have a furious monologue by Medea in which she entreats the blessings of various deities upon her evil projects and exhorts herself to surpass all her former crimes. Her plans of vengeance, 17–21, 25 f., are already matured, — death for the new bride and her father, a desolate old age

¹ Besides Leo, *Sen. Trag.* I, pp. 163–170, and Braun, *Rh. Mus.* XXXII, pp. 68–85, already referred to, the principal articles dealing with the *Medea* are the following: A. Vidal, *Études sur trois tragédies de Sénèque*, Paris, Aix, 1854, pp. 133–181; P. Rajna, *La Medea di Lucio Anneo Seneca esaminata*, Piacenza, 1872; C. E. Sandström, *De L. Annaei Senecae Tragoediis*, Upsala, 1872, pp. 45–58; A. Pais, *Il Teatro di L. Anneo Seneca*, Turin, 1890, pp. 26–32 and 100–106; F. Pasini, *La Medea di Seneca e Apollonio Rodio*, in *Atene e Roma*, V (1902), pp. 567–575.

² In view of Seneca's extensive imitation of Ovid's extant works in his other plays, it would be absurd to assert this as an invariable principle. For example, the following is an extremely modest collection of passages from the *Phaedra* that betray the influence of Ovid: *Phaedr.* 124–128, cf. *Her.* 4, 53 f., 61 f.; *Phaedr.* 665 f., cf. *Her.* 4, 63 f.; *Phaedr.* 657–660, 798, 803, cf. *Her.* 4, 73 f., 77 f.; *Phaedr.* 115–119, cf. *Her.* 4, 165 f.; *Phaedr.* 651 f., cf. *Her.* 4, 71 f.; *Phaedr.* 376, cf. *Am.* 2, 5, 34; *Phaedr.* 1027 f., cf. *Met.* 15, 513; *Phaedr.* 1035–1049, cf. *Met.* 15, 511–513; *Phaedr.* 1097–1100, cf. *Met.* 15, 522 f.; *Phaedr.* 761–776, cf. *A. A.* 2, 113–118 and 3, 61–76; *Phaedr.* 1102–1110, cf. *Met.* 15, 525–529; *Phaedr.* 1265–1267, cf. *Met.* 15, 528 f.; *Phaedr.* 743–752, cf. *Met.* 2, 722–725, *Her.* 17, 71–74.

for Jason, destruction for the innocent children at the hand of their own mother.¹ In the Greek drama, with greater fidelity to life, Medea's plans do not crystallize until much later in the action.

Ovid too has contributed but little to this first act. The enumeration of gods at the beginning, 1-12, may be compared with the oaths of Jason, *Her.* 12, 77-80. Juno, who presides over wedlock, the Sun-god, ancestor of Medea, and Hecate (or Diana), her special patroness, appear in both lists. Jason, in Ovid, mentions no others by name, but adds somewhat contemptuously, with reference to the gods of Colchis, 80:

et si forte aliquos gens habet ista deos.

In a similarly comprehensive fashion Medea concludes her invocation, 7-9:

quosque iuravit mihi
deos Jason, quosque Medeae magis
fas est precari.

The conception of the Furies presiding at a wedding in place of the customary deities, Juno and Hymen, although found in a few other authors, seems a favorite one with Ovid²; Seneca here employs it not only in verses 13-17, but seems to have it in mind when he represents Medea picturing herself as the bearer of Creusa's nuptial torch, 37-39.

Seneca's first chorus, 56-115, is in the form of a wedding-hymn celebrating the marriage of Creusa and Jason. The stage picture offered to the imagination is striking: Medea, trembling with the surging passion of the words she has just uttered, shrinks back into the shelter of some protecting corner while the happy throng of youths and maidens, perhaps with Jason and Creusa in their midst, suddenly pours over the stage joyously chanting the nuptial strains. We must not forget, however, that we are dealing with rhetorical drama, which was written, primarily at least, not for the theatre but for the declamation-hall.

There is no mention of wedding-song in Euripides, for the marriage

¹ But 137-149 and 920-925 are slightly inconsistent with this.

² See *Met.* 6, 428-432; *Her.* 2, 117-120; 6, 45 f.; 7, 96. (Note the contrast in Virgil, *Aeneid* 4, 166-168.) For the other occurrences of this figure, see Burmann's note on Ovid, *Her.* 2, 117, and Leo, *Sen. Trag.* I, p. 165.

has already been celebrated before the play opens.¹ Ovid, presumably, deserves the credit for this important innovation, for he treats the incident at some length in the twelfth *Epistle*. If he introduced it into his *Medea*, as we have reason to believe, he thereby gives good proof of the soundness of his dramatic instinct, for this episode quickens the action of the play and wonderfully enriches the emotional effect. The scene is described in *Her.* 12, 133-158 as follows: in obedience to Jason's command Medea is about to leave her home; suddenly sounds of revelry ring out upon the air, more mournful to her than the dirge of funeral horns, for while she does not yet know the full extent of her husband's perfidy, her heart is filled with premonitions of ill. The faithful slaves stand apart, weeping in secret; none of them will carry the gloomy tidings to the beloved mistress. It is one of the little sons who breaks the terrible news to his mother. "Come hither, come hither, mother!" he calls out innocently from the doorway, "Father Jason, all dressed in gold, is driving a span of horses and leading the whole procession!"

It is the use of the incident itself rather than the language in which it is expressed that is significant of the connection between Ovid and Seneca, but there are some verbal similarities not to be disregarded.² Compare Ovid, *Her.* 12, 137 f.:

ut subito nostras Hymen cantatus ad aures
venit, et accenso lampades igne micant,

and 141-144:

pertimui nec adhuc tantum scelus esse putabam:
sed tamen in toto pectore frigus erat.
turba ruunt et 'Hymen' clamant 'Hymenaeae' frequenter
quo propior vox haec, hoc mihi peius erat

with Seneca, *Med.* 111-114:

multifidam iam tempus erat succendere pinum:
excute sollemnem digitis marcentibus ignem.
festa dicax fundat convicia fescenninus,
solvat turba iocos —

¹ See Th. C. H. Heine, *Corneille's Médée in ihrem Verhältnisse, etc.*, p. 456, note 1.

² Leo, *Sen. Trag.* I, p. 168, and Braun, *Rh. Mus.* XXXII, p. 73.

and 116 f.:

occidimus, aures pepulit hymenaeus meas.
vix ipsa tantum, vix adhuc credo malum.

The second act consists of two parts,—a dialogue between Medea and the nurse, and the scene between Medea and Creon, king of Corinth.

In the beginning of the first of these scenes is depicted Medea's furious despair when she understands the full import of the wedding strains. The same theme, stated in much the same way, is found in *Her.* 12, 153–158. There follows in each author a passage in which Medea refers to the crimes which she has committed for Jason's sake; Braun¹ continues the comparison through these verses, but aside from the general subject, one which it is very natural that Medea should touch upon, the resemblance is not remarkable. An interesting part of this scene, 137–142, which adds a non-Euripidean element to the character of Medea, will be discussed later.

In 147–149:

alto cinere cumulabo domum;
videbit atrum verticem flammis agi
Malea longas navibus flectens moras,

we have an expansion of Euripides 378:

πότερον ὑφάψω δῶμα νυμφικὸν πυρί.

The Medea of the Greek play rejects this method of avenging herself; Seneca's more vindictive heroine incorporates it into her other plans. The nurse tries to calm her agitated mistress by various sententious utterances, for which Medea is always ready with a brilliant rejoinder. Corneille is especially successful in his reproduction of this passage of repartee.²

The interview of Creon with Medea is a curious mixture of Euripides and Ovid, and demands a more detailed treatment. Seneca's Creon, 'swelling with the pride of Pelasgian power,' enters accompanied by a numerous retinue. He catches sight of Medea when still at some distance from her, and immediately bursts into angry speech, addressed either to his attendants or to himself. Although these words teem with

¹ *Rh. Mus.* XXXII, p. 74.

² *Médée*, Act I, scene 5.

a much greater arrogance than the Creon of Euripides manifests, yet they seem to have been directly suggested by certain lines in the Greek. For example, 181 f.:

molitur aliquid : nota fraus, nota est manus.
cui parceret illa quemvè securum sinet?

reminds one of Euripides 282-285 :

δέδοικά σ', οὐδὲν δεῖ παραμπέχειν λόγους,
μή μοί τι δράσης παῖδ' ἀνήκεστον κακόν.
συμβάλλεται δὲ πολλὰ τοῦδε δείματος·
σοφὴ πέφυκας καὶ κακῶν πολλῶν ἴδρις.

In the next lines, 183-186, Creon says that at first he had purposed to put Medea to death, but that moved by his son-in-law's entreaties he had changed the sentence to one of exile. Euripides does not mention this until later, 455 f., in the scene between Jason and Medea. Seneca also repeats it, 490 f., in his scene corresponding to this. In 186 f. Medea's gloomy countenance is described; Euripides 271 f. is probably the origin of this. The fierce orders to the slaves, 188-191, seem to have grown from the brief threat in verse 335 of the Greek play:

τάχ' ἐξ ὀπαδῶν χειρὸς ὠσθήσῃ βίᾳ.

Medea, who has overheard Creon's brutal commands, turns and without the preliminary wailing of the Greek heroine addresses the king with considerable assurance, 192 :

quod crimen aut quae culpa multatur fuga?

The corresponding Greek is verse 281 :

τίνος μ' ἔκατι γῆς ἀποστέλλεις, Κρέον;

To reach the next verses betraying a Greek origin, it is necessary to pass on to 249-251, where Medea begs the king to cancel his decree. Seneca takes three verses to say what Euripides expresses in one, 313 f. The beginning of Creon's reply to this, 252 f.:

non esse me qui sceptrā violentus geram
nec qui superbo miserias calcem pede,

reminds one of the Greek, 348 f.:

ἤκιστα τοῦμὸν λῆμ' ἔφυ τυραννικόν,
αἰδούμενος δὲ πολλὰ δὴ διέφθορα·

Finally, Creon in the Latin play grants Medea's prayer for a respite of one day, 294 f., 297-300, in substantially the same terms as his Greek prototype, 350-354.

So much for the Euripidean portions of this scene. Roughly speaking, they occur at the beginning and end, and form an outline which Seneca has proceeded to fill in with what seems suspiciously like a leaf from the rhetorician's exercise-book, — Medea's elaborate self-defence. Her principal argument is that it was she who preserved for Greece Jason and the whole glorious company of the Argonauts: this great service surely entitles her to mercy at the hands of Creon. The conception of Medea as a Deliverer is inherent in the subject-matter of the story of the Golden Fleece. In Euripides Medea gives it expression, when in reproaching Jason for his ingratitude she says, 476 f.:

ἔσωσά σ', ὥς ἴσασιν Ἑλλήνων ὄσοι
ταῦτόν συνεισέβησαν Ἀργῶν σκάφος,

and again in 515:

ἢ τ' ἔσωσά σε.

In Ovid the same theme appears in the first fragment of the *Medea* and in *Her.* 12, 75 f., 173, 197. Ovid and Seneca, however, are connected by the use of an extended application of this motif, by which Medea is glorified as the saviour not only of Jason but of the whole crew of the Argo. Ovid makes her say when about to flee from Colchis, *Met.* 7, 55 f.:

non magna relinquam:

magna sequar: titulum servatae pubis Achivae,

and again in *Her.* 12, 203, she maintains that this is the dowry which she brought to Jason:

dos mea tu sospes, dos est mea Graia iuventus.

In Seneca a great part of the scene between Medea and Creon is given up to the development of this idea, beginning with 225-228:

solum hoc Colchico regno extuli,
decus illud ingens Graeciae et florem inclitum,
praesidia Achivae gentis et prolem deum
servasse memet.

In her scene with Jason Medea again brings up this topic, 454 f.

Aside from this point, which Ovid and Seneca have in common, there is a single line, 280 :

totiens nocens sum facta, sed numquam mihi,

which, with a similar verse later, 503 :

tibi innocens sit quisquis est pro te nocens,

bears unmistakable signs of kinship with *Her.* 12, 132 :

pro quo sum totiens esse coacta nocens.

These are the chief points in which Seneca seems to hark back to Euripides and Ovid ; there remain a number of details to which a definite origin cannot be assigned. Some of these are of minor importance and may be due to Seneca himself, *e.g.* the surprise of Creon that Medea has not yet obeyed his decree of exile, whereas in Euripides it is he himself who first makes it known to her. On the other hand, some stress must be laid upon the fact that in this scene Seneca refers to the slaughter of Pelias three times, 201, 258 ff., and 276, while Euripides does not allude to it at all in this portion of his play. The death of Pelias is naturally connected with his son Acastus, who in Seneca is preparing to exact immediate vengeance upon Medea and Jason. It is the fear of Acastus, together with suspicion of Creon's attitude, that has caused Jason to desert Medea for Creusa, according to Creon, 256 f., to Medea, 415, and to Jason himself, 521, 526. This is a radical departure from Euripides, who nowhere mentions Acastus and who makes his Jason faithless because of selfish ambition rather than from fear.

Another fundamental difference between the plots of Seneca and Euripides first comes to light in this scene. In Euripides the children are expressly included with their mother in the decree of banishment, 273, 353 ; later Medea asks Jason to intercede for them with the king and the princess, 940-942, and the pretended object in sending the fatal present to Creusa is that thereby she may be rendered favorably disposed toward the children, and obtain from Creon their release from the sentence of exile, 969-973. In Seneca, on the contrary, the children are not banished ; Medea, taking for granted that they are to remain at Corinth, begs the king that their mother's guilt may not reflect to their injury, and receives an assuring reply from him, 283 f.

Finally, in this complex scene we must not overlook 266-271 :

tu, tu malorum machinatrix facinorum,
cui feminae nequitia ad audenda omnia,
robur virile est, nulla famae memoria,
egredere, purga regna, letales simul
tecum aufer herbas, libera cives metu,
alia sedens tellure sollicita deos ;

where the king of Corinth is suddenly transformed into the indignant Roman consul visiting his wrath upon Catiline. Compare especially *Cat.* 1, 10 : *egredere aliquando ex urbe ; . . . educ tecum etiam omnes tuos ; . . . purga urbem, magno me metu liberabis.*

The second chorus tells of the impious daring of those who first sailed out over the unknown seas, *i. e.* the Argonauts. A similar theme is of not infrequent occurrence in ancient literature. The opening lines, 301 f. :

audax nimium qui freta primus
rate tam fragili perfida rupit,

inevitably recall Horace, *Od.* 1, 3, 9-13 :¹

illi robur et aes triplex
circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
commisit pelago ratem
primus ;

and later, 335 f. :

bene dissaepi foedera mundi
traxit in unum Thessala pinus,

brings back to memory the *oceano dissociabili* of the same ode. Spika² furnishes many more parallels to Horace from this chorus, but not all of them commend themselves to the judicious reader. Braun³ seems to have little warrant for assigning the origin of this chorus to the

¹ See especially Horace, *Od.* 1, 3, and Tibullus 1, 3, 37-40; cf. Hesiod, *Op.* 236 f.; Sophocles, *Ant.* 332-337; Virgil, *Ecl.* 4, 32.

² *De Imit. Horat. in Sen. cant. chori*, p. 16.

³ *Rh. Mus.* XXXII, p. 74.

opening of the Euripidean *Medea*, where the faithful nurse vainly wishes that the Argo had never set out on its fatal voyage. Braun goes on to say that Seneca has used Ovid for the following mythological references. This is highly probable but hardly admits of absolute proof. Of the comparisons he gives, the last is the best. Jason has brought back two prizes from the Colchian land, the Golden Fleece and — Medea. The passages are Seneca 361–363, and Ovid, *Met.* 7, 155–158.

The third act opens with a dialogue between Medea and the nurse, very like the first scene of the second act. The only passage which need be mentioned is 417–419 :

sed cesserit coactus et dederit manus :
adire certe et coniugem extremo alloqui
sermone potuit —

which expresses a thought similar to that in Euripides 585–587 :

χρῆν σ', εἴπερ ἦσθα μὴ κακός, πείσαντά με
γαμείν γάμον τόνδ', ἀλλὰ μὴ συγγῇ φίλων.

Then follows the important scene between Medea and Jason, 431–559, which, in spite of many vigorous and brilliant lines, falls very far short of the two scenes in Euripides, 446–626 and 866–975, which Seneca has here condensed into one. In the Greek drama the conversation proceeds in a simple and natural manner; Seneca, the rhetorician, in constructing his scene, seems to be patching together disconnected bits of clever repartee, and the joinings are sometimes very obvious. For example, Medea's opening words are too abrupt, 447

fugimus, Iason : fugimus — hoc non est novum.

The Euripidean heroine is far more true to life when she begins by exclaiming, 465 :

ὦ παγκάκιστε·

Other breaks in the logical connection, as it seems to me, occur between 489 and 490, 512 and 513, 515 and 516.

Most of the material used in this scene is found in Euripides, but the verbal similarities between Seneca's verses and the Greek are not

remarkable.¹ As for Ovid, we have one passage at least in which Seneca has certainly appropriated his work, 501-503 :

omnes coniugem infamem arguant,
solus tuere, solus insontem voca :
tibi innocens sit quisquis est pro te nocens.

The corresponding lines in Ovid are *Her.* 12, 131 f. :

ut culpent alii, tibi me laudare necessest,
pro quo sum totiens esse coacta nocens.

Besides this, it is very probable that in writing the account of the labors imposed upon Jason by Aeetes, 465-489, Seneca had in mind the descriptions in Ovid, *Met.* 7, 100-155 and *Her.* 12, 39-50, 93-102, rather than the Greek lines on the same subject, 478-482.² Undoubtedly, as we shall soon see, he was also familiar with the epic of Apollonius Rhodius, in which these events are narrated at length.

It will be remembered that in the preceding act Medea had asked Creon to look with favor upon her children after she had left them to go into exile. She evidently changed her mind ; for now, apparently with perfect sincerity and entirely forgetful of the dark hints of the first act, she haughtily refuses her husband's proffered aid and requests only that her sons may go away with her, 540-543. Jason refuses : sooner would he part with his life than with his children. Medea suddenly perceives her opportunity, 549 f. :

sic natos amat?
bene est, tenetur, vulneri patuit locus.

This is one of the most powerful moments in Seneca's drama ; there is nothing to correspond to it in the Greek *Medea*.

¹ The topics and references are as follows: the new marriage is to further the interests of Medea's sons, Sen. 438 f., 443, 507-512; Eur. 547-568, 595-597; no place of refuge now lies open to Medea, Sen. 457-460; Eur. 502-515; Medea's great services to Jason and his false oaths, Sen. 465-489; Eur. 476-498; Jason's intercession changes the death-sentence into exile, Sen. 490 f., cf. 184; Eur. 455 f.; Medea rejects Jason's offers of financial assistance, Sen. 537-541; Eur. 459-464, 610-622; Medea feigns repentance and asks forgiveness, Sen. 551-560; Eur. 869-893.

² Note especially the conception of Medea's services as a dowry, Sen. 486-489; Ovid, *Her.* 12, 199-203; cf. Leo, *Sen. Trag.* I, p. 168.

After Jason departs, the act is brought to a close by a short scene in which Medea unfolds her plans of vengeance to the nurse, in so far as these relate to the destruction of Creon and his daughter. Seneca's material seems to come from Euripides,¹ but he mentions three gifts, the *palla*, the *monile*, and the *aurum quo solent cingi comae*, whereas in the Greek we read of only two, 786 :

λεπτὸν τε πέπλον καὶ πλόκον χρυσήλατον.²

The third chorus, 579-669, considered metrically, falls into two parts, each consisting of seven stanzas. The stanzas of the first part are the ordinary Sapphics of Horace ; those of the second are much longer, each being made up of eight lesser Sapphic verses followed by an Adonic. Corresponding to the metrical variation there is a change in thought. In the first part the chorus, alarmed at the preceding scenes, describes the anger of a betrayed wife, and utters a prayer for Jason's safety, for he, like Phaëthon, having violated the sacred laws of nature, is in danger of grievous calamity. Braun³ suggests that the origin of this part of the chorus is to be sought in Euripides 265 f. :

ὄταν δ' ἐς εὐνὴν ἡδίκημένη κυρῇ,
οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλη φρὴν μαιφονωτέρα.

Much more relevant, in my opinion, is Ovid's description of the abandoned wife, *A. A.* 2, 373-382 :

sed neque fulvus aper media tam saevus in irast,
fulmineo rabidos cum rotat ore canes,
nec lea, cum catulis lactantibus ubera praebet,
nec brevis ignaro vipera laesa pede,
femina quam socii deprensa paelice lecti
ardet et in vultu pignora mentis habet ;
in ferrum flammisque ruit positoque decore
fertur, ut Aonii cornibus icta dei :
coniugis admissum violataque iura maritast
barbara per natos Phasias ulta suos ;

¹ Medea exhorts herself to dare the utmost, Sen. 560-567; Eur. 401-409; she describes the gifts, Sen. 570-576; Eur. 784-789.

² Apollodorus 1, 9, 28 and *Myth. Vat.* 1, 25 mention the robe only; Hyginus, *Fab.* 25, the head-dress only; Diodorus 4, 54 vaguely says 'δῶρα.'

³ *Rh. Mus.* XXXII, p. 78.

Compare *in ferrum . . . ruit* with Seneca 593 f.:

cupit ire in ipsos
obvius enses

and note that at the end Medea is selected as the typical example.

The second part of this third chorus is really a continuation of the second chorus. That dealt with the unholy launching of the Argo; here we learn how many of the Argonauts paid the penalty of their daring by suffering terrible deaths. The possible sources for the numerous mythological details are Apollonius Rhodius and Ovid. Braun's theory¹ that Seneca derived his material in part from Ovid and in part from Hyginus can no longer be accepted as a whole, since it is now agreed that the collection of notes bearing the title *Hygini Fabulae* is the product of the age of Marcus Aurelius or of Commodus.² Pasini³ makes an able plea for Apollonius as Seneca's authority for these allusions, and perhaps his claim is just with regard to the lines on Tiphys, Zetes and Calais, Idmon, and Mopsus. Seneca, however, confuses the last two, assigning to Idmon the manner of death which really belongs to Mopsus. He is also in error in identifying Mopsus the Argonaut with Mopsus of Thebes, son of Manto.⁴ Further, the resemblance between Seneca 656:

ille (Mopsus) si vere cecinit futura

and Ovid, *Met.* 12, 455 f.:

nec tu credideris tantum cecinisse futura
Ampyciden Mopsum

raises some doubt as to the origin in Apollonius of the lines on this hero.

Ovid's well-known narratives of the death of Orpheus, of Hercules, of Meleager and Ancaeus (the Calydonian Hunt), and of Pelias, may well have been flitting through Seneca's mind when he wrote the brief

¹ *Rh. Mus.* XXXII, p. 79 f.

² Lafaye, *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide et leurs modèles grecs*, p. 58; cf. M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, II, 2 (1899), p. 350 f.

³ F. Pasini, *La Medea di Senecae Apollonio Rodio*, in *Atene e Roma*, V, pp. 567-575. In this article he gives a fairly complete list of the apposite references in Seneca, Ovid, Apollonius, and Hyginus.

⁴ Leo, *Sen. Trag.* I, p. 24.

summaries of these events that we find in this chorus. Further, certain of Ovid's chance references come very close to some of the lines; for example, his couplet on Admetus in *A. A.* 3, 19 f.:

fata Pheretiadae coniunx Pagasaea redemit
proque virost uxor funere lata viri

is much like Seneca's two verses on the same topic, 662 f.:

coniugis fatum redimens Pheraei
uxor impendes animam marito.

Much more striking is the similarity between Ovid, *A. A.* 2, 110:

Naiadumque tener crimine raptus Hylas

and Seneca 646-649:

meruere cuncti
morte quod crimen tener expiavit
Herculi magno puer inrepertus,
raptus, heu, tutas puer inter undas.

What Seneca says of Periclymenus, 635 f.:

patre Neptuno genitum necavit
sumere innumeras solitum figuras

may come from *Met.* 12, 556 f.:

mira Periclymeni mors est. cui posse figuras
sumere quas vellet, rursusque reponere sumptas
Neptunus dederat

or may go back to Apollonius 1, 156-160. Since Ovid himself often draws from Apollonius, it becomes a difficult problem to decide whether certain lines of Seneca are from Apollonius directly or indirectly by way of Ovid. Possibly the immediate source of these passages in Ovid and Seneca was a chorus in the lost *Medea*.

Medea, granddaughter of the all-seeing Sun and favored priestess of dread Hecate of Triple Form, is the typical sorceress of antiquity. To this phase of her character Seneca has chosen to devote a whole act, and the choice marks him as rhetorician rather than dramatist. Scenes depicting the mysterious and the gruesome are scattered throughout ancient literature; Seneca, while undoubtedly familiar with many of

these, seems to be especially under obligations to Ovid and to Apollonius for the material of this part of his play. Just as in the preceding chorus, it is not easy to decide when he is borrowing from the *Argonautica* directly, and when indirectly by way of Ovid. Pasini¹ has indicated very clearly what parts of Apollonius bear upon the question, and consequently I shall limit my observations to the similarities between Seneca and Ovid. The portion of Ovid chiefly drawn upon is the story of the rejuvenation of Aeson in *Met.* 7, 179-284. This passage and the whole fourth act of Seneca's *Medea* should be compared throughout in order to get the full measure of Seneca's indebtedness to his predecessor.²

Both in Aeson's elixir of life and in Creusa's poison the venom of serpents appears as an ingredient, although naturally it occupies a more important place in the latter. Seneca takes considerable space to enumerate all the various snakes, both on earth and in heaven, which have yielded their contribution to Medea's brew, 680-704, whereas Ovid says merely, *Met.* 7, 271 f.:

nec defuit illic
squamea Cinyphii tenuis membrana chelydri.

As to the magic herbs, which are a most essential element of both mixtures, the accounts, Seneca 705-730, and Ovid, *Met.* 7, 224-233, 264 f., are much the same. Compare especially Seneca 718-722:

cuiusve tortis sucus in radicibus
causas nocendi gignit, attrectat manu.
Haemonius illas contulit pestes Athos,
has Pindus ingens, illa Pangaei iugis
teneram cruenta falce deposuit comam;

with Ovid, *Met.* 7, 224-227:

et quas Ossa tulit, quas altum Pelion herbas,
Othrys quas Pindusque et Pindo maior Olympus,
perspicit, et placitas partim radice revellit,
partim succidit curvamine falcis aenae.

¹ *Atene e Roma*, V, pp. 573-575.

² Cf. Braun, *Rh. Mus.* XXXII, pp. 81-83.

and *Met.* 7, 264 :

illic Haemonia radices valle resectas.

Seneca and Ovid not only agree in the use of *Haemonius* and *Pindus*, but both mention the two methods of gathering the plants, *i. e.* pulling up by the roots and cutting down with a sickle. Seneca again refers to these two operations a few lines later, 728-731 :

haec passa ferrum est, dum parat Phoebus diem,
illius alta nocte succisus frutex ;
at huius ungue secta cantato seges.¹

Certain birds of ill-omen are also thrown into both caldrons. Compare Seneca 732-734 :

miscetque et obscenas aves
maestique cor bubonis et raucae strigis
exsecta vivae viscera

and Ovid, *Met.* 7, 268 f. :

addit . . .
et strigis infames ipsis cum carnibus alas,

273 f. :

quibus insuper addit
ora caputque novem cornicis saecula passae.

These selections are taken from the first scene of the act, in which the nurse describes Medea's preparations for making the poison. The second scene, the incantation proper, which falls entirely to Medea alone, is divided by changes of metre into five sections. In the first of these, 740-751, Medea begins by an appeal to the gods of the lower world ; she then summons Ixion, Tantalus, and the Danaids to rest awhile from their sufferings to behold the execution of her fearful schemes. This passage recalls *Herc. Oet.* 1061-1074, where Seneca tells how Orpheus charmed all Hades with his song. *Met.* 10, 40-47 without doubt was the model for this latter selection, and perhaps also, though less directly, for these verses of the *Medea*.

¹ Cf. the use of *cantatus* in *Her.* 6, 84 where Hypsipyle says of Medea:
diraque cantata pabula falce metit.

In the last two lines of the first section begins the invocation of Hecate as the Moon-Deity, which is continued in the second section, 752-770. Medea here describes her own magic powers: she can control wind and waves, stars and sun, and can change the course of the seasons at her will. These lines are strongly reminiscent of *Met.* 7, 199-207, where Medea is making a similar appeal to Hecate, and of *Her.* 6, 84-94, where Hypsipyle is jealously inveighing against Medea's black arts.

In the third section, 771-786, we have an enumeration of the various offerings by which Medea is striving to gain the favor of the goddess,—a wreath of snakes, the serpent-limbs of Typhoeus, blood of the centaur Nessus, ashes from the pyre of Hercules sodden with the poison that wrought his death, the brand that put an end to Meleager's life, feathers from the Harpies and from the Stymphalian birds. Probably there is no one source for all these marvels, but the list of monstrosities in Ovid, *Trist.* 4, 7, 11-18, may have suggested some of them.

At verse 787 Hecate manifests herself in the form of Moon-goddess; thereupon in her presence Medea applies the fiery poison to the gifts. This constitutes the fourth section, 787-842. The description of the manner in which the poison is to accomplish its mission, 833-839, is probably based on the messenger's narrative in Euripides, 1186-1201.

In the final section, 843-848, Medea returns to the calmer iambic trimeter. She bids the nurse summon the children; they enter and receive from their mother's hands the presents for their new step-mother.¹ It should be observed that in Seneca's version Jason is not informed of this sending of gifts to Creusa, and that Medea's pretended object in doing this is only to gain Creusa's favor for the children in a general way, since they are not under the sentence of banishment.

The fourth chorus, 849-878, in spite of its brevity, is full of interest to the investigator of origins. In the first place, we have the comparison of Medea to a maenad, which is also found in a number of places throughout the play and in the second fragment of Ovid's *Medea*.² It was evidently a favorite simile with both of these authors; Seneca applies it to Andromache in *Troad.* 673-676, and to Deianira in *Herc. Oet.* 700-702; Ovid uses it of Phaedra in *Her.* 4, 47 f., and of Lau-

¹ Sen. 845-848; cf. Eur. 969-975.

² See p. 43.

damia in *Her.* 13, 33 f.¹ The more minute description of Medea when seized by this frenzy which we have in 851-861 is like that of Althaea in *Met.* 8, 465-470, where she is swayed to and fro by the conflicting emotions of love for her son and desire to avenge her brothers. The probability of imitation is heightened by the fact that the simile of a ship struggling between opposing wind and tide which Ovid uses in the lines immediately following, 470-472, has its counterpart in Seneca's next act, 939-943.

In 862-865 we have Medea likened to a tigress bereft of her young.² Ovid furnishes a number of similar instances. Hecuba, about to avenge the death of Polydorus, is compared to a lioness deprived of her cub, *Met.* 13, 547 f. A closer parallel is found in *Fast.* 4, 457-462, where Ceres, upon learning of the rape of Proserpina, is described by the same similes as Medea is here, — first, that of the maenad; and secondly, that of an animal (in this case a cow) whose offspring has been taken away by force. This latter simile as applied to Medea is somewhat superficial; both she and the tigress are frantic with rage, but the causes of this rage are entirely unlike. Now, in another passage in Ovid, we find a mother in exactly the same situation in which Medea is, — Procne about to slay Itys in order to avenge herself for her husband's infidelity. Ovid thus describes her, *Met.* 6, 636 f.:

nec mora, traxit Ityn, veluti Gangetica cervae
lactentem fetum per silvas tigris opacas.

From this passage Seneca seems to have borrowed some of the language, but he has changed the simile, 862-865:

huc fert pedes et illuc
ut tigris orba natis
cursu furente lustrat
Gangeticum nemus.

Gangeticus is an example of Seneca's tendency to go to Ovid for unusual proper names.³

¹ Virgil compares Dido to a bacchante, *Aen.* 4, 300-303; see Ter Haar Romeny, *De Auct. Trag., etc.*, p. 31.

² Cf. Eur. *Med.* 1342.

³ Besides in the above passages, *Gangeticus* occurs Sen. *Oedip.* 458, *Thyest.* 707; the only other authors who use it are Columella, Silius Italicus, Martial, and Ausonius.

The closing lines of the chorus, 874-878, a prayer for the speedy coming of night-bringing Hesperus, that he may put an end to the day of terror, are compared by Braun¹ to Euripides 1258-1260, a prayer to the Sun to drive away from the house the spirit of doom; to me this comparison seems rather far-fetched.

In the first scene of the fourth act the messenger brings the news of the disaster at the palace. He holds his conversation entirely with the chorus, while Medea and the nurse stand at one side, silent but intent. In the Greek *Medea*, the messenger's narrative is one of the most effective passages of the whole play, and extends through more than a hundred lines, 1122-1230; Seneca cuts this down to twelve, and instead of a long speech we have a succession of very brief questions and answers. The first two verses, 879 f.:

periere cuncta, concidit regni status.
nata atque genitor cinere permixto iacent

are a free translation of Euripides 1125 f.:

ὄλωλεν ἡ τύραννος ἀρτίως κόρη
Κρέων θ' ὁ φύσας φαρμάκων τῶν σῶν ὕπο.

The question of the conflagration of the palace has already been discussed.²

The opening of the next scene, 891 f.:

effer citatum sede Pelopea gradum,
Medea, praeceps quaslibet terras pete

Proper names that appear only in Seneca and Ovid are: *Latonigenae*, Sen. *Agam.* 324, Ovid, *Met.* 6, 160; *Mycale* (a Thessalian sorceress), Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 525, Ovid, *Met.* 12, 263 (cf. Nemesianus 4, 69); *Phoebas* (Cassandra), Sen. *Troad.* 34, *Agam.* 588, Ovid, *Am.* 2, 8, 12, *Trist.* 2, 400 (cf. Eur. *Hec.* 827 and Timotheus frg. 1, Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* III, p. 620); *Lyrnesis* (Briseïs), Sen. *Agam.* 186, Ovid, *A. A.* 2, 403 and 711, *Trist.* 4, 1, 15; *Pirenis*, Sen. *Med.* 745, Ovid, *Met.* 2, 240 and 7, 391, *Pont.* 1, 3, 75. Other rare names found in Seneca and Ovid, and also in a few other writers, who for the most part are inclined to imitate these two, are *Nabataeus*, *Nasamoniacus* (Ovid) and *Nasamoni* (Seneca), *Nyctelius*, *Odrysius*, *Olenius*, *Ogygius*.

¹ *Rh. Mus.* XXXII, p. 83.

² Page 44.

is manifestly modelled on Euripides 1122 f.:

Μήδεια, φεύγε φεύγε, μήτε ναῖαν
 λιποῦς' ἀπήνην μήτ' ὄχον πεδοστίβῃ

but in Seneca these words are spoken by the nurse, in Euripides by the messenger. The remainder of the scene is a soliloquy by Medea. She begins by exciting herself to dare whatever crime may be most atrocious and unnatural, 893-915. This is very characteristic of Seneca's Medea; she has already said the same thing in 40-55, 397-414, and 562-567. Euripides touches more lightly on this point, 401-409, 1240-1250. In the following lines, 916-925, Seneca employs a rather frigid conceit to explain the manner in which Medea is led up to the terrible climax of her vengeance. She meditates whether she can now inflict any new, any greater evil upon Jason; she should have waited until Creusa had borne him sons that they too might have suffered with their mother; but Jason has children already — let these be considered Creusa's offspring! Then follows the contest between maternal love and jealous hate which the Greek poet has handled with such marvelous understanding of the human heart, 894-931, 1021-1080, 1236-1250. Seneca's briefer account, 926-953, lacks the delicate psychology of Euripides, but is strong and effective.¹

Ovid's contribution to this scene is the simile already referred to in the discussion of the previous chorus.² Althaea is likened to a ship which is driven now hither, now thither by the warring winds and waves, *Met.* 8, 470-472:

utque carina,
 quam ventus ventoque rapit contrarius aestus,
 vim geminam sentit, paretque incerta duobus.

¹ The children enter at Medea's words in 945-947; cf. the corresponding verses, Eur. 894-896.

² Since Ovid surpasses all other ancient poets, including Homer and Virgil, in the number and variety of his similes (cf. J. A. Washietl, *De Similitudinibus Imaginibusque Ovidianis*, Vienna, 1883, p. 2 f.), it is not strange that Seneca often draws from his rich store. The following are a few of the most conspicuous examples: *Herc. Fur.* 683-685, cf. *Met.* 8, 162-166; *Herc. Fur.* 105 f. and *Phaedr.* 101-103, cf. *Met.* 13, 867-869, *Her.* [15], 12; *Herc. Fur.* 1089-1092 and *Herc. Oet.* 710-712, cf. *Fast.* 2, 775-778; *Phaedr.* 381-383, cf. *Am.* 1, 7, 55-58, *Trist.* 3, 2, 19 f., *Pont.* 1, 1, 67 f., 2, 3, 89 f.; *Phaedr.* 455 f., cf. *A. A.* 1, 359 f.; *Thyest.* 707-712, cf. *Met.* 5, 164-167; *Phaedr.* 1072-1075, cf. *Trist.* 1, 4, 11-16; *Phaedr.* 743-752, cf. *Met.* 2, 772-775; *Oedip.* 465, cf. *Met.* 3, 681 f.

Seneca here uses a similar figure of Medea,¹ 939-942 :

anceps aestus incertam rapit ;
ut saeva rapidi bella cum venti gerunt
utrimque fluctus maria discordes agunt
dubiumque fervet pelagus.

Medea's crazed eyes now behold a band of avenging Furies and the ghost of her brother Absyrtus, 957-970, a vision which may have been suggested by Medea's oath in Euripides 1059 :

μὰ τοὺς παρ' Αἰδῇ νερτέρους ἀλάστορας.

As an offering to the shade she now kills one of her sons, and then, hearing the sound of approaching soldiery, she ascends to the roof of the house, carrying the corpse and accompanied by the nurse with the second child.

The final scene of the play, 978-1027, is based to a great extent upon the corresponding part in Euripides, but is much shorter and more crudely vigorous. In Euripides both children are already dead when Jason appears ; in Seneca Medea slowly butchers the surviving son before the eyes of the anguished father. Braun² cites a number of parallels from Euripides, but they are not especially noteworthy. Perhaps verses 982-984 in Seneca's play, where Medea recounts all that she has forfeited for her love of Jason, were suggested by Ovid, *Her.* 12, 108-113, although Euripides has something very similar in 255-258.

The great question in regard to this scene is, of course, whether Seneca was the first to represent the murder of the children upon the stage, an incident decidedly out of keeping with the general practice of the Greek drama. I am inclined to believe that Seneca has adopted this from Ovid, and for this reason. Horace's *Ars Poetica* is dated 19-14 B.C.³ ; it may perhaps be inferred, that at that time Ovid had already composed his *Medea*, for we learn from *Trist.* 4, 10, 57 f. that he began his literary career at a very early age, and from *Am.* 2, 18, 13, that tragedy was the object of some of his first attempts ; so what is

¹ Cf. *Agam.* 138-140.

² *Rh. Mus.* XXXII, p. 84 f.

³ M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, II, 1 (1899), p. 123.

more likely than that the older poet, when he says in 185 of the last epistle :

ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet

is expressing a covert bit of criticism upon this very play of Ovid? ¹

Whoever among the Romans dared to be the first to violate the Greek convention in regard to the shedding of blood upon the stage, the artistic lapse, if lapse it be, must be charged to rhetorical tragedy as a literary form rather than to any single playwright. On the Greek stage events of this nature were usually described by a messenger ; when, in the imperial days of Rome, the recitation-chamber to a great extent supplanted the theatre, all action necessarily retreated to the same secondary position it occupies in the narratives of the Greek messengers, and consequently lost much of its vividness. When this fact is taken into consideration, it will be evident that the discrepancy between the Greek drama and Latin rhetorical tragedy with reference to the presentation of violent death before the eyes of the audience is not so great as is commonly supposed.

III

A brief study of the characters of the play will yield some new points of interest. We must not expect a careful psychology in Seneca's delineation of the human emotions ; occasionally his personages seem to be little more than convenient mouth-pieces for exercises in rhetorical declamation. In the *Medea* he has attained a measure of success in character-drawing that he has not reached in many of his other plays, but even here the workmanship is rough, and the coloring, although brilliant, is crude and monotonous.

The name 'Medea' instantly calls up to the mind of the student of ancient literature two pictures, — the mother with sword drawn against her own children,² and the priestess of Hecate brewing her magic

¹ A. Pais, *Il Teatro di Seneca*, p. 30 f., believes that Seneca was the first who represented Medea killing her children openly.

² Seneca's Medea has some characteristics in common with Lady Macbeth ; cf. *Macbeth*, Act I, scene 7, the lines beginning 'I have given suck,' and Act I, scene 5, beginning 'Come, you spirits.' Further, Vidal (*Études sur trois tragédies de Sénèque*, p. 160, note 7) compares the incantation act to the scenes in which the

potions of life or death. A tragedy based on the former conception, Medea as wife and mother, should not present the second or super-human side of her nature too prominently;¹ otherwise we have an unconvincing character, who now appears as a weak, suffering woman, and now as an all-powerful sorceress descended from the gods. Euripides, bearing this in mind, has emphasized the human Medea; Seneca has chosen to sacrifice the demands of art in order to please the perverted taste of his mystery-loving generation.

What strikes the reader most forcibly in Seneca's compound heroine is her violence. All bonds of self-restraint have given way completely at the news of Jason's perfidy; she raves, as the author repeatedly informs us, as wildly as an ecstatic maenad.² Moreover, there is no variation or progression in this rage; the opening monologue, which presents her beseeching the gods to prosper her murderous designs, is pitched in the same shrill key as the close of the tragedy, where she slowly butchers her child before the father's very eyes. This bacchantic frenzy, while especially characteristic of Medea, appears to a greater or less extent in several of Seneca's other heroines, as, for example, Deianira, Andromache, and Clytemnestra. If we may trust the testimony of the second fragment of Ovid's play, the same lack of self-control was found in his Medea.

In the first scene of the second act, 137-149, just after the wedding-music has told her the dreadful truth, in the midst of Medea's terrible burst of anger a strange wave of tenderness for Jason sweeps over her and she cries out that he is not the guilty one, that the blame is all Creon's, and against Creon only will she direct her vengeance.³ No such

'three weird sisters' appear, Macbeth, Act I, scenes 1 and 3; Act III, scene 5; Act IV, scene 1. Again (*op. cit.*, p. 158, note 1) he points out that Macduff, in his thoughts of vengeance upon Macbeth, cries out in despair, Act IV, scene 3, 'He has no children.'

¹ Cf. Voltaire's preface to Corneille's *Médée*, beginning 'Une magicienne ne nous paraît pas un sujet propre à la tragédie régulière.'

² As Pais rather humorously puts it, *Ii Teat. di L. Ann. Sen.*, p. 105: 'In Euripide Medea è sempre una donna, in Seneca ha fin da principio le proporzioni di una virago.'

³ Cf. Widal, *Études sur trois tragédies*, etc., p. 143, and Sandström, *De L. Annaei Senecae Tragoediis*, p. 51.

feeling is disclosed by the Greek Medea ; her anger seems to have consumed utterly all her conjugal affection. It is very likely that this passage of Seneca has been inspired by something in Ovid's play, for we find that the heroine of the twelfth *Epistle* still shows great love for her husband, and even cherishes a vague hope that he may return to her.

In comparison with this maenad-sorceress of Seneca, the Medea of Euripides is a much more artistically constructed character. The occult element is refined away and in its place we have intellectuality ; Medea is wise above all her companions, both in the mysteries of the gods and in the sophistries of men ; she has wonderful subtlety and marvelous powers of dissimulation ; she bends men to her will — Creon, Aegeus, and Jason all yield in turn to her requests ; finally she is a woman and a mother, but her spirit is of such a haughtiness that all her former love for Jason is transmuted into bitterest hate and she is willing to sacrifice her own children to complete her vengeance.

The Jason of Seneca differs from his Greek prototype as greatly as Medea does from hers.¹ In the Euripidean Jason we have an altogether despicable wretch ; his selfishness and ambition are so excessive that it is impossible for us to believe very much in the one virtue to which he repeatedly lays claim, his love for his children. He regards them with solicitude chiefly because they are to serve his old age and perpetuate his race. It is only at the end of the play, when he realizes that they are lost to him forever, that he seems to forget self completely, 1399 f. and 1402 f. Seneca's Jason, on the contrary, is a creature of timidity rather than of ambition. He marries Creusa not because he wishes to become first in the kingdom, but because he is beset by the fear of Acastus on the one side and of Creon on the other. His weakness, so well brought out in his helpless denunciations of fate in the soliloquy at his first entrance, stands in notable contrast to the wild vigor of Medea. But Jason has a redeeming virtue in that he loves his children above all else in the world. We have seen this in the scene where Medea asks to take the children away into exile. In the last terrible act he piteously offers his own life as a substitute for that of the remaining child, 1004 f., and when this prayer

¹ Cf. Rajna, *La Medea di L. Ann. Sen. esam.*, p. 15.

passes unheeded and the child is perishing before his eyes, he cries out in agony, 1018:

infesta, memet perime.

Medea has exceeded the measure of her revenge; our sympathies are all with the stricken father. Since this Jason is so unlike the hero of the Greek *Medea*, it seems reasonable to believe that he approaches closely to the Jason in Ovid's play.

Creon, however, is entirely a creation of Seneca. He is merely a replica of the typical tyrant, who appears as Lycus in *Hercules Furens*, Eteocles in *Phoenissae*, and Aegisthus in *Agamemnon*. The one trait dominating them all is boundless arrogance, and the words which Medea applies to Creon as she sees him approaching, *tumidus imperio*, is an apt characterization of them all. The Creon of Euripides is a noble old man, whose whole soul is wrapped up in his daughter; it is because he fears some ill to her that he has determined to drive Medea away from Corinth; Medea's request for one more day in the land is granted because she appeals to his affection as a parent, 344 f.; even his love of country stands second to that for his child, 328 f.; finally he casts away his own life in his vain attempts to save Creusa, 1204-1221. This devotion of Creon to his daughter and the desire of Aegeus for a son form a strong contrasting background for the catastrophe, — the mother murdering her own children. Seneca's Creon does not mention his daughter at all.

The nurse, too, plays an entirely different rôle in Seneca from that which she has in Euripides. The latter represents her as the old trusted servant who feels the joys and sorrows of the household even more keenly than she does her own. After her important part in opening the play she does not join in the conversation, although probably she attends her mistress whenever Medea appears on the stage. In Seneca the nurse is already the 'confidante' of French classical drama. Her function is to serve as a foil to Medea in several dialogues, thereby enabling the latter to deploy her tumultuous emotions to greater advantage than would be possible in monologue. Seneca often makes use of a colorless creature of this sort, e.g. the nurse to Deianira in *Hercules Oetaeus* and the *Satelles* of Atreus in *Thyestes*.

The messenger in Seneca plays an exceedingly unimportant part. He seems to be merely a chance passer-by, who halts for a moment to

give his fellow-citizens in the chorus a very brief account of the calamity at the palace. In Euripides the messenger is an old family servant, deeply attached to Medea's interests.

The chorus differs from that of Euripides in two important particulars; it is composed of men instead of women,¹ and it sympathizes with Jason instead of with Medea. The themes of the lyrical portions of the play, while bearing little or no resemblance to the choruses of Euripides, are well correlated with the subject-matter of the tragedy.

Aegeus² and the pedagogue are omitted from the Latin *Medea*, and the children, who in Euripides speak a few words from behind the scenes, have nothing at all to say and form a much less prominent part of the play.

IV

By way of summarizing the results of the preceding pages I shall conclude with an estimate of Seneca's own contributions to his *Medea* and an hypothetical outline of Ovid's lost tragedy.

The special feature by which Seneca intended his drama to be distinguished from all other *Medeas* is the act devoted to the incantation.³ This is paralleled by several episodes in the other plays which we know are due to Seneca's own invention, for example, the sooth-saying of Tiresias and Manto in *Oedipus*, the dialogue between the Fury and the Ghost of Tantalus in *Thyestes*, and the appearance of the Ghost of Thyestes in *Agamemnon*. In the next place, it is probably Seneca's own genius that devised the scenes between Medea and her nurse, for many similar passages are found elsewhere in his works. Clytemnestra, Phaedra, and Deianira are all provided with nurses, and Atreus has a *Satelles*, who serves the same purpose. Later this variety of scene came to hold an important place in the drama of the Romance nations. In the portrayal of the characters Seneca's share is to be looked for in the emphasis on what seems to him either the most characteristic quality or the one most effective for his rhetorical

¹ Bentley divides the wedding chorus between two companies, one of youths and the other of maidens, see *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, CXXV, p. 488.

² Cf. Aristotle, *Poët.* c. 25, 1461 b, 20, and Pais, *Il Teatro di L. Ann. Sen.*, p. 30.

³ Cf. Leo, *Sen. Trag.* I, p. 169: *ipsi Senecae scaenam illam attribuere suadet huius poetae et aequalium consuetudo talibus in rebus inmorandi.*

→ purposes. Thus Creon's pride of power is abnormal and Medea's violence sweeps away from our vision any other possible traits. Finally a tendency toward bombastic expression and a meaningless turgidity of phrase is an almost unerring indication of Seneca's own handiwork; fortunately in the *Medea* there are few examples of this.

In the chief elements of its economy, Ovid's play necessarily followed that of Euripides. No *Medea* could well exist without the interviews between Jason and Medea, the scene between Medea and Creon, the recital of the Messenger, and the mother's soliloquy before she slays her children. While using this Euripidean material, Ovid, we may be sure, did not restrain his fertile fancy. It is especially to be noted that the tendency of the Greek characters to indulge occasionally in sophistical argument was supplanted in their Latin descendants by the habit of employing at every opportunity the flamboyant Roman rhetoric. Ovid's *Medea* is believed to have been one of the first and most brilliant specimens of this new genus of drama.¹ Quintilian's dictum,² according to Leo's interpretation,³ would lead us to expect some rather startling innovations, and our investigations go to confirm this expectation. The introduction of the wedding-chorus with the consequent quickening of the action and the added poignancy of emotion is the one which we can predicate with the most confidence. Probably this was preceded, not by a monologue as in Seneca, but by a prologue which was modelled to some extent on that of Euripides, and which has left behind a faint echo in *Her.* 12, 133-158. After the nuptial music has changed Medea's suspicions into certainty, she may have been represented as struggling to quench her still-surviving tenderness for Jason in an ever-increasing tumult of jealousy and hate. The grounds for surmising this are verses 137-149 of Seneca. Ovid's heroine also became possessed of a maenadic frenzy; probably this took place near the end of the play, since it is reasonable to suppose that Ovid arranged a more gradual progress for Medea's passions than Seneca has. With his fondness for subtleties Ovid must have found attractive the problem of reconciling the discor-

¹ See Schanz, *Röm. Lit.* II, 2 (1901), p. 51, and Leo, *Sen. Trag.* I, p. 148 f.

² *Inst.* 10, 1, 98; see p. 41.

³ *Sen. Trag.* I, p. 149: *Quintiliani testimonio quo docemur etiam in tragoedia illum ingenio suo indulgere quam temperare maluisse.*

dant elements in her character. Further, in Ovid's play as in Seneca's, the chorus was presumably composed of men who sympathized with Jason. One of their songs was on the cruise of the Argo, and the fates which befell some of the heroic crew. Since Ovid probably omitted the character of Aegeus, and did not make use of an incantation scene, he had considerable space for the messenger's tale. The conflagration of the palace was added to increase the effect of the original disaster. Finally the Jason of Seneca may be assumed to be a fairly true reproduction of Ovid's hero. He is the antithesis of Medea; she reverts from the loving wife and tender mother to the wild Colchian sorceress, while he, the aforetime valiant leader of the Argonauts, pales at the mention of Acastus, and retains but a trace of his former nobility of character in his true affection for his sons. This type of Jason prepares the way for Ovid's last and most startling innovation, the murder of the children in their father's presence, and consequently before the eyes of the spectators.¹

¹ The dissertation by F. Galli, *Medea corinzia nella tragedia classica e nei monumenti figurati* (from the *Atti del l'Accad. di archeologia, lettere, e belle arti* XXIV), I have not yet been able to secure. That it touches upon some of the topics treated in the above article is evident from Weege's review in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* of April 27, 1907.

BOYHOOD AND YOUTH IN THE DAYS OF ARISTOPHANES¹

BY ARTHUR ALEXIS BRYANT

I

IN this article I have undertaken to picture the Athenian boy of Aristophanes' lifetime as he actually appears in the contemporary literature. The conclusions are based on an independent examination of the sources. I have accordingly not hesitated to include some matter not new; but I have tried to put clearly my chief contention — that the young Athenian was not an unreal creature, but very human, very real, and very modern, and that contrary impressions are based chiefly on later accounts, rich perhaps in tempting detail, but entirely at variance with the genuine Attic spirit.

We may feel confident that the straight-limbed Athenian lad, with sunny ringlets² and mantling cheeks,³ was very much the same sort of fellow as our own American boy, — pagan⁴ and mischievous,⁵ for all his cloak of demureness and patient propriety⁶; silently cherishing, perhaps, dreams of great deeds in the far-away days of his manhood,⁷ but

¹ It was at Professor John Williams White's suggestion that I undertook this new examination of an old question.

² For justification of these terms cf. Plato *Lysis* p. 217 D ξανθαί τρίχες; Ar. *Vesp.* 1068 πολλῶν κικίννου νεανιῶν; and Phaedo's long locks (Plato *Phaedo* p. 89 B). We need scarcely insist that these are merely types.

³ The boy blushed from modesty or embarrassment, much as a girl does to-day. Cf. Plato *Lysis* p. 204 B; 213 D; *Charm.* 158 C; *Euthyd.* 275 D; *Protag.* 312 A; Xen. *Symp.* 3, 12.

⁴ The boy's world even to-day is peopled with strange divinities that his elders know not. The faith of his fathers is often overlaid with a mythology and cosmogony quite independent of it. So it must have been with the little fellows whose souls were filled with visions of "bogeys." (Plato *Crito* 46 C; *Phaedo* 77 D; *Rep.* 2, 381 E).

⁵ There is a very modern sound about the little gamin's pranks in Ar. *Eq.* 418 sq.

⁶ See below, p. 89 sq.

⁷ So Plutus says (Ar. *Plut.* 88): ἐγὼ γὰρ ὦν μεράκιον ἠπέλιθ' ὅτι, etc.; cf. Proxenus in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (2, 6, 16) who εὐθὺς . . . μεράκιον ὦν ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν ἱκανός.

for the present chiefly intent on escaping disagreeable duties and restraints,¹ to devote himself to his games and his play²; or loving, best of all, with a boy's world-old impatience of boyhood's limitations, to slip away among the grown-up people at their work³ or chat.⁴ It is only by realizing this kinship, and keeping in mind the ways of the modern boy, that we are able to discern in the confusion of material what is fact and what is merely fancy; to distinguish philosophers' ideals from actual conditions. Not what Plato or Isocrates theorized about education interests us here, but the training that made a Plato or an Isocrates, and the sort of boys they and their companions were. We have only half an ear for Aristophanes' lament over the latter-day decadence: we are listening to the voices of the lads of those latter days as they call to us from his pages, and to the voice of his own youth giving the lie to the extravagance of his condemnation. It is rather these witnesses that we shall credit.

II

Nature has fixed the dividing line between boyhood and youth; at Athens,⁵ as with us, the law established the line dividing youth from manhood. But the terms for the several stages are as numerous in Greek as in English — and as loosely used. Youth is comparative; and νέος, νεανίας, νεανίσκος, are accordingly elastic in meaning. Apart from its generic use as 'offspring,' παῖς⁶ ordinarily measures the period we call

¹ See Plato, *Rep.* 8, 548 B; Ar. *Plut.* 577; Xen. *Anab.* 2, 6, 12.

² For an exhaustive account of children's plays, see Grasberger, *Erziehung und Unterricht*, Vol. I, Part I, *Die Knabenspiele*.

³ Cf. Plato *Rep.* 5, 467 A, the potter's children.

⁴ Cf. the picture of Lysis (Plato *Lysis* 213 D), the φιλήκοος (206 D).

⁵ See Schömann-Lipsius, *Griech. Altertümer*⁴, I, p. 378; Iwan von Müller (in Vol. IV, Part I, of the *Handbuch*), p. 184, with Anm. 3. Schömann (l.c.) distinguishes "political" from "legal" majority, — the former conferring the right to sit in the assembly and vote, the latter to hold property and make marriages, etc. If my contention below about the *ephebi* be sustained, this distinction will break down. See p. 78.

⁶ In this note and the six immediately following, no attempt has been made to cite all the passages. The definitions are based on my own special collections, which are nearly complete for the authors of the period (450–375 B.C.). In the sense of 'offspring,' παῖς is used in the singular of children of either gender (e.g. *masculine*, Plato *Phileb.* 36 D; *feminine*, Plato *Laws* 11, 925 C), or in the plural, of both. To be

'boyhood,' — up into the early "teens"; *μειράκιον*¹ includes the later "teens" and early "twenties," being nearly convertible with *νεανίσκος*²; while *νεανίας*³ is regularly used of a slightly older man, and *παιδίον*⁴ or

distinguished is also the use of *παῖς* (of either gender) = *servus*. Cf. Plato *Symp.* 175 A; Lysias frag. 67 (*plural*); Plato *Comic. frag.* 69, line 5, ed. Kock (*feminine*), etc. The phrases *ἐκ παιδός* (Plato *Rep.* 1, 374 C, etc.), *ἐκ παίδων* (Plato *Rep.* 2, 386 A, etc.), point plainly to *παῖς* as the designation of the earliest period. Socrates, speaking to Alcibiades, who is still under twenty, counts back five years and says: *ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε πρὸ τούτου παῖς ἦσθα* (*Alc.* I 110 A). This, if taken literally, would fix fourteen or fifteen years as about the upper limit of the term of "boyhood." Cf. Lysias in *Alc.* I (14), 25.

¹ Whenever *παῖς* and *μειράκιον* are used together (e.g. in Antiphon's second Tetralogy, Or. 3) *μειράκιον* is always the older boy. Cf. Plato *Parmen.* 126 B, C; *Rep.* 5, 468 B; 6, 498 A, B, etc., with Xen. *Symp.* 4, 17 *ἐπεὶ ὥσπερ γε παῖς γίγνεται καλὸς οὕτω καὶ μειράκιον καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ πρεσβύτερος*. In Aristophanes the word is used (*Eg.* 556) of the Knights; *ib.* 1375, of the young loungers in the perfumers' shops (cf. *Ran.* 1069); *Nub.* 916 *διὰ σέ δὲ φοιτᾶν | οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει τῶν μειρακίων*; *ib.* 927, of Socrates' pupils; *ib.* 990, 1000, 1071, of Pheidippides (who is called *νεανίας* in *Nub.* 8); *Av.* 1442, of Diitrephes; *Eccl.* 703, of a lusty lad of physical maturity; *ib.* 1146 *καλεῖς γέροντα μειράκιον παιδίσκον*; *Plut.* 88 *ἐγὼ γὰρ ὦν μειράκιον ἠπέλθην ὅτι*, etc.; *ib.* 975, of the young deceiver: *ἦν μοί τι μειράκιον καλόν*, who is elsewhere (e.g. 1016, 1071) called *νεανίσκος*. Aeschines (in *Tim.* 22; cf. 19) uses the term of a lad who has just been enrolled in the *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*, and is thus legally of age. Cf. Lysias in *Diogeit.* (32) 9; frag. 27, 75; Eupolis frag. 100, 310, etc.

² For instance, the same lads in the *Laches* of Plato are called indifferently *μειράκια* (179 A etc., eight times) or *νεανίσκοι* (179 C etc., ten times). Charmides is called *νεανίσκος* (154 C, D), *μειράκιον* (154 B), or *νεανίας* (155 A). Plato calls Cleinias *μειράκιον* (*Euthyd.* 271 A etc.), *νεανίσκος* (*ib.* 275 A), *νέος* (*ib.* 275 B), and *παῖς* (*ib.* 289 B; though in this last case Socrates is using the word loosely and with affectionately diminutive effect). In Lysias' oration *Against Simon* (3, 5), Theodotus is called *μειράκιον*, and again *μειράκιον* and *νεανίσκος* in the same sentence (3, 10). Aristophanes calls the Knights *νεανίσκοι* (*Eg.* 731) and *μειράκια* (*ib.* 556). Add finally Plato *Rep.* 3, 413 E *καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ ἔν τε παισὶ καὶ νεανίσκοις καὶ ἐν ἀνδράσι βασανιζόμενον*; and Xen. *Cyr.* 8, 7, 6 *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤβησα, τὰ ἐν νεανίσκοις* (sc. *νομιζόμενα καλά δοκῶ κεκαρπῶσθαι*).

³ Plato *Rep.* 8, 549 B *ὁ τιμοκρατικὸς νεανίας*; cf. Eurip. *And.* 604 (of Paris); *ib.* 1104 (of Orestes); *Bacch.* 274 (of Pentheus); *Hec.* 525 (of the Greek troops); *Ion* 316 *παῖς δ' ὦν ἀφίκου ναὸν ἢ νεανίας*; *ib.* 780 *ἤδη πεφυκὸς ἐκτελῇ νεανίαν*, etc. Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 415; Plato *Charm.* 155 A.

⁴ See e.g. Plato *Laws* 2, 658 C; Ar. *Lys.* 18, etc. Elsewhere, however, *παιδίον* is used freely *metri gratia* for *παῖς*, though I find no clear case of *παιδίον* = *servus* — an important fact to be used later.

παιδάριον¹ of a very young child. But there is a constant overlapping of terms,² and it is often impossible to determine precisely what age is meant. Indeed the confusion lies deeper than a matter of names. We are baffled in all attempts to systematize that which is in its essence variable and indefinite. For, though we can trace in the individual boy a certain normal order of development, we can rarely determine the calendar of his growth. Nor is it after all fundamental that we should. It is a question whether the content of life has been enlarged by clocks and chronometers. Certain it is that the Greeks bothered themselves very little about them.

Yet there was one great event in a boy's life which set a limit to his boyhood and marked the beginning for him of man's estate. At the beginning of the Attic official year that followed his eighteenth birthday³ — if we adopt Aristotle's reckoning⁴ — the young Athenian came of age. Whatever the details of the ceremonial that attended the event,⁵

¹ Plato *Symp.* 210 D; Lysias 19, 9; Ar. *Av.* 607; frag. 139, 612, Kock, etc.

² See notes 1 and 2 on p. 75, and add Plato *Lysis* 204 D, where Lysis is called νέος; 204 E, παῖς; 205 B, νεανίσκος; *Laws* 10, 904 E ὁ παῖς καὶ νεανίσκος, etc.

³ I use the phrase "eighteenth birthday" in its common meaning of eighteenth anniversary of one's birth.

⁴ *Resp. Ath.* 42. See Schömann-Lipsius, *Gr. Alt.*,⁴ I, p. 378 with Anm. 4; the same, p. 391; Lipsius in *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.*, CXVII, p. 299 sqq.; Foucart, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, XIII, p. 263; Höck, *Hermes*, XXX, 347 sqq.; Thalheim in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, V, 2737 sqq. On the whole matter, as well as the phrase ἐπιδierès ἡβήσαι (= "to come of age"), see also P. Girard in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, II, 2, pp. 621, 622; Iwan von Müller, *Gr. Privatalt.* (*Hdb. d. klass. Alt.*, IV, 1, B), p. 184 (§ 105) with the passages there cited. The older view of Schaefer (*Demosthenes u. seine Zeit*, III, 2, 35-47) which Blass (*Die Attische Beredsamkeit*², III, 1, p. 9), Gilbert (*Hdb. d. Gr. Staatsalt.*², I, p. 218 with Anm. 3), and Busolt (*Gr. Staats- u. Rechtsalt.*², p. 213, in Iwan von Müller's *Hdb. d. klass. Alt.*, IV, 1, A) adopt, placed the coming of age in the eighteenth year. But Aristotle's statement seems conclusive.

⁵ In addition to the examinations by deme and Council, and the taking of the oath that I have mentioned in the text we read in Aristotle of a grand review before the ecclesia after one year's service as recruits — at which each youth received a shield and spear from the State (*Resp. Ath.* 42). We are at once reminded of the presentation of the πανοπλία to the orphans of those slain in battle. See Aeschin. in *Ctes.*, 154; Isoc. 8, 82; Plato *Menex.* 249. There is no other evidence for Aristotle's review. Aristotle does not mention the oath. Thalheim in Pauly-Wissowa, V, 2738, and von Müller in his *Gr. Privataltertümer*,

it must have been a trying experience. Schömann¹ rightly rejects Boeckh's² theory that the Phratry had again at this time to pass upon the lad's fitness for citizenship, as it had years before passed upon his legitimacy.³ He had been initiated into the Phratry some years after that first presentation, and had taken part with the other boys in the prize exhibition that was a feature of the *κοινρεῶτις*, the third day of the Apatouria.⁴ His present ordeal was a different one.⁵

He must undergo, in the first place, a searching examination before the members of his deme,⁶ in which his age and the status of his parents and the legality of his birth were investigated. If his proofs were satisfactory,⁷ the demesmen entered his name in the great deme-register (*ληξι-αρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*)⁸ and declared him by that act no longer a boy, but his own master, a citizen among citizens, with the rights and privileges⁹

p. 190, argue that the oath ought to follow the presentation of the arms which the recruit swore to defend. See below, p. 78. But cf. Lycurg. in *Leocr.* 76, and see Schömann-Lipsius, *Gr. Alt.*⁴, I, p. 379; Girard in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, II, 2, p. 624. On the presentation to the Council and the supposed presentation to the dicasts, see p. 78 and note 7 below.

¹ Schömann-Lipsius, *Gr. Alt.*⁴, I, p. 385, with Anm. 3.

² *De Ephebis Atticis*, I, p. 4 (= *Opusc.* IV, 139).

³ See Töpffer in Pauly-Wissowa, I, 2676, with authors cited; Gilbert, *Hdb. d. Gr. Staatsalt.*², I, pp. 212-213; Schömann-Lipsius, *Gr. Alt.*⁴, II, p. 576 sqq.; Stengel, *Gr. Kultusal.*², pp. 204-205, in Iwan von Müller, *Hdb. d. klass. Alt.*, V, 3.

⁴ Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 21 B, and see especially Töpffer, l.c.

⁵ Aristotle (*Resp. Ath.* 42) is our main authority for the following details. I have accepted his account where it is not manifestly at variance with the other evidence.

⁶ See Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 42, and cf. Schömann-Lipsius, *Gr. Alt.*⁴, I, p. 391; Gilbert, *Hdb. d. Gr. Staatsalt.*², I, pp. 219, 227, 228, etc.

⁷ In case his title were disputed, he still had recourse to the courts (Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 42 *ἔπειρ' ἂν* *μὲν* ἀποψηφίσωνται μὴ εἶναι ἐλεύθερον, ὃ μὲν ἐφίησιν εἰς τὸ δικάστηριον κτλ.). It is very likely that the examination before the Council was confined to such doubtful cases. See Schömann-Lipsius, I, p. 378, with Anm. 5. Girard suggests (op.c. p. 623) that the courts were invoked to settle the age question. But Ar. *Vesp.* 578 is better referred with Lipsius (Meier-Schömann-Lipsius, *Der Attische Process*, p. 254) to the δοκιμασία of the orphans. See von Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles u. Athen*, I, p. 190, Anm. 6, and cf. [Xen.] *Rep. Ath.* 3, 4.

⁸ See p. 76, note 4, and add B. Haussoullier, *La Vie Municipale en Attique*, p. 13; Koch in Pauly-Wissowa, V, 1269 sqq.

⁹ Possession of full rights of citizenship was called ἐπιτεμνία. See Busolt, *Gr. Staats- u. Rechtsalt.*², p. 204; Thalheim in Pauly-Wissowa, V, 2737; Gilbert, *Hdb.*

as well as the duties and obligations of a man.¹ If we may credit Aristotle, the new citizen had still to stand examination before the Council of Five Hundred,² which reviewed the proceedings of the demesmen and held them rigidly accountable for any false entries; and he had yet to take the solemn oath of allegiance,³ in which he swore to defend his country and uphold her institutions, and vowed to be true to her heroic traditions. But with the enrolment in the deme came at once full citizenship. The young man might not yet hold office, to be sure, or sit in the Council or the courts,⁴ but there is reason to believe that he was at liberty to attend the ecclesia, to vote, or even to take part in the debate,⁵ however much custom may have frowned on the

*d. Gr. Staatsalt.*², I, p. 230 sqq. On certain limitations to these privileges see below, note 4.

¹ Aristotle states that the ἐφηβοὶ enjoyed complete ἀρελία during their two years' novitiate. But this can hardly have been the case in the earlier period. Even orphans were exempt from liturgies for but one year after their coming of age (Lys. 32, 24), and not even they from εἰσφορά. See Böckh-Fränkel, *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*², I, pp. 535, 558. Girard in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, II, 2, p. 625 with note 60, is not convincing. In the earlier period, moreover, the military service made no such demands on the young man's time as would justify ἀρελία. See below, p. 80.

² Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 42, 2. See on this point Girard in Daremberg et Saglio, II, 2, p. 623; Östbye, *die Schrift vom Staat der Athener und die attische Ephebie* (Christiania, 1893), p. 23 sqq.; Koch in Pauly-Wissowa, V, 1269. It seems hardly possible that *all* the new citizens should have been examined before the βουλή.

³ The earliest reference to this oath is in Dem. *de fals. leg.* 303. See also Lycurg. in *Leocr.* 76. It is recorded for us in Pollux 8, 105, and in slightly different form in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 43, 48. Plutarch *Alc.* 15, and Cicero *de rep.* 3, 9 mention a clause not found in the earlier accounts. See G. Hofmann, *De iuris iurandi apud Athenienses formulis* (Darmstadt, 1886), p. 28 sqq., who defends the genuineness of the oath against Cobet, *Nov. Lect.* 223; Thalheim in Pauly-Wissowa, V, 2738; A. Dumont, *Essai sur l'Éphébie Attique*, I, p. 9; Dittenberger, *De Ephebis Atticis*, p. 9; Grasberger, *Erziehung und Unterricht*, III, 29 sqq.; Gilbert, *Hdb. d. Gr. Staatsalt.*², I, pp. 347, 348 with note 1; and especially Girard in Daremberg et Saglio, II, 2, pp. 624-625, who believes that the oath was administered by the Council. We have no means, however, of settling either the precise terms of the oath, or the circumstances attending it.

⁴ See Schömann-Lipsius, *Gr. Alt.*⁴, I, p. 378; Gilbert, *Gr. Staatsalt.*², I, pp. 295, 439; and cf. Xen. *Mem.* 1, 2, 35; Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 63, 3; Poll. 8, 122.

⁵ So Gilbert, *Gr. Staatsalt.*², I, p. 220; Busolt, *Gr. Staats- u. Rechtsalt.*², p. 213, with Anm. 10, 11; Girard in Daremberg et Saglio, II, 2, p. 625. Cf. Lysias 16, 20;

exercise of this right. In all other respects he was independent, — at least, as independent as the “citizen of no mean city” can be.

For the two years immediately following enrolment, the young citizen, though liable with all others for military service,¹ seems to have been especially favored. During this time he was not obliged to serve outside of Attica,² and some attention seems to have been given to fitting him for the duties of campaigning by preliminary tours of service in the garrisons,³ or on patrol along the frontier.⁴ This is all that we know of the military requirements in the time of Aristophanes.⁵ By Aristotle’s time,⁶ however, there had developed a regular organization of these “recruits” into a sort of military academy, under the supervision of a state *κοσμήτης* and a board of tribal censors (*σωφρονισταί*), and with a corps of instructors in military and gymnastic exercises appointed and paid by the State. And it is commonly supposed that such an Ephebic College existed in the earlier period as well. It is unnecessary here to go into the details of Aristotle’s account or to follow the institution he describes through the changes of which the inscriptions inform us, by which it gradually became to all intents an Athenian university.⁷ What is important for our present purpose is that in the time of Aristophanes there is no evidence for an elaborate organization⁸ of the

Xen. *Mem.* 3, 6, 1, etc. A contrary opinion, without discussion, in Schömann-Lipsius, *Gr. Alt.*⁴, I, p. 378, Anm. 3.

¹ See Gilbert, *Gr. Staatsalt.*², I, p. 352 sqq.

² See Gilbert, op.c, I, p. 354 with Anm. 1; Aesch. *de fals. leg.* 167.

³ Cf. Eupol. frag. 341 Kock; Xen. *de vect.* 4, 43 and 52; Dem. 18, 38.

⁴ Xen. *de vect.* 4, 47 and 52; Ar. *Av.* 1177; cf. Poll. 8, 105.

⁵ Girard in Daremberg et Saglio, II, 2, p. 621 sqq., proves simply that the young citizens from eighteen to twenty formed a separate military class — not by any means that Aristotle’s *κοσμήτης* and *σωφρονισταί* and the rest of the Ephebic organization are to be referred to the earlier period.

⁶ See Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 42.

⁷ On the *ἐφηβεία* see A. Dumont, *Essai sur l’Éphébie Attique* (Paris, 1876); W. Dittenberger, *De Ephebis Atticis* (Göttingen, 1863); W. W. Capes, *University Life in Ancient Athens*; Grasberger, *Erziehung und Unterricht*, III, *Die Ephebenbildung*; Iwan von Müller, *Gr. Privatalt.*, p. 184 sqq.; Thalheim and Oeri in Pauly-Wissowa, V, 2737 sqq.; P. Girard, *L’Éducation Athénienne*², p. 54 sq.; 271 sqq.; the same in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, II, 2, p. 621 sqq. See also p. 74, note 4.

⁸ Schömann-Lipsius, *Gr. Alt.*⁴, I, p. 553, Anm. 4, admit that the *σωφρονισταί* could not have existed when Demosthenes spoke on the False Legation. Cf. von

ἔφηβοι (or περίπολοι, as they are called in the literature of our period)¹ — no evidence that they received either support or instruction from the State,² save as it came in their regular tours of duty — and every evidence that such military service as the young citizen rendered in the first two years was by no means a serious hindrance to the ordinary occupations of everyday life.

As it is essential for the proper understanding of the boys and youth of our period to free our minds of the idea that two years of this most receptive time of life were preëmpted by the State for military instruction, I have thought it worth while, even at the risk of repetition, to bring together the evidence which seems to me to exclude this supposition.

In the first place, we must never lose sight of the fact that in the literature of our period there is no evidence that the State concerned itself with any part of the boy's training from the cradle to manhood.³

Wilamowitz, *Arist. u. Athen*, I, p. 192 sqq., whose entire argument is noteworthy. Girard, who carries Aristotle's entire organization into the earlier period, argues that the State might teach *military* science, without being open to the charge of interfering with *education*. See his article in Daremberg et Saglio, II, 2, p. 622 sqq. But there is surely a distinction between compulsory military service, and a required course of preliminary training which involved living in barracks and constant supervision — and comprehended not merely instruction in the ancient "Manual of Arms" (ὅπλομαχεῖν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν καὶ καταπάλτην ἀφιέναι, *Arist. Resp. Ath.* 42), but also in gymnastic. (Cf. the παιδοτροφίβας mentioned by Aristotle.) All that Girard's passages prove — as has been noted above — is that the recruits were kept in an "awkward squad" for two years after enrolment.

¹ The word ἔφηβος occurs in the Ps.-Platonic *Axiochus*, p. 366E, in Demosthenes *de fals. leg.* 303, and in Lycurgus *in Leocr.* 76; συνέφηβος, twice in Aeschines (*de fals. leg.* 167; *in Tim.* 49). In Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (I, 2, 4, and 9-12; I, 5, 1) the word is used in an entirely different sense. See Girard in Daremberg et Saglio, II, 2, p. 621 sqq., with the passages cited. I have purposely avoided the words ἔφηβος and ἐφηβεία where possible, because of their association with Aristotle's institution.

² In Plato *Laches* 179E an anxious father consults Socrates as to the advisability of having his μεράκια instructed in ὅπλομαχία. Whatever the exact age of the young fellows (see p. 75, note 2), it is clear that the whole situation is incompatible with Aristotle's conception of an ἐφηβεία in which this very ὅπλομαχία was the subject of special instruction. See *Arist. Resp. Ath.* 42.

³ So Plato *Alc. I* 122B τῆς δὴ σῆς γενέσεως, Ἀλκιβιάδην, καὶ τροφῆς καὶ παιδείας, ἢ ἄλλου ὁτιοῦν Ἀθηναίων, ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οὐδενὶ μέλει, εἰ μὴ τις ἐραστής σου τυγχάνει ὦν (cf. Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Ps.-Plato *Hipparch.* 229c); Xen. *Cyrop.* I, 2, 2

It is not easy to say in any particular case that the youth in question is of the ephebic age, but surely if those particular two years were so strikingly different from the rest of a boy's life we should expect some hint of that fact in the literature. We have conscientious fathers consulting anxiously as to what to do with their boys now that their elementary education is completed¹; one even plans to send his boys to study the art of fighting with arms (ὅπλομαχία), although that was part of the ephebic curriculum.² We hear of Alcibiades, still under twenty, aspiring to political honors.³

αὶ μὲν γὰρ πλείεσται πόλεις ἀφείσαι παιδεύειν ὅπως τις ἐθέλει τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας, etc.; Plato *Euthyphro* 2 D καὶ φαίνεται μοι τῶν πολιτικῶν (sc. Μέλητος) μόνος ἀρχεσθαι ὀρθῶς· ὀρθῶς γάρ ἐστι τῶν νέων πρῶτον ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως ἔσσονται ὅτι ἀριστοί. Plato further, in the *Laos* (7, 804 D), longs for a Utopian realm where it shall be possible διδάσκειν . . . οὐχ ὃν μὲν ἂν ὁ πατήρ βούληται, φοιτῶντα, ὃν δ' ἂν μή, ἑῶντα τῆς παιδείας, ἀλλὰ τὸ λεγόμενον πάντ' ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ὡς τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν γεννητόρων ὄντας, παιδευτέον ἐξ ἀνάγκης. Of older lads, [Xen.] *Rep. Lac.* 3, 1 ὅταν γε μὴν ἐκ παίδων εἰς τὸ μεираκιούσθαι (i.e. just this period of ἐφηβεία) ἐκβαλῶσι, τηνικαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ παιδαγωγῶν, παύουσι δὲ ἀπὸ διδασκάλων, ἀρχουσι δὲ οὐδένας ἔτι αὐτῶν ἀλλ' αὐτονόμους ἀφιάσιν. ὁ δὲ Λυκούργος, etc.; ib. 6, 1 ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος καὶ παίδων καὶ οἰκετῶν καὶ χρημάτων ἀρχουσιν; Plato *Laches* 179 A ἡμῖν εἰσὶν υἱεῖς οὗτοι . . . ἡμῖν οὖν τούτων δέδοκται ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὡς οἷον τε μάλιστα, καὶ μὴ ποιῆσαι ὅπερ οἱ πολλοί, ἐπειδὴ μεράκια γέγονεν, ἀρεῖναι αὐτοὺς ὅ τι βούλονται ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ νῦν δὴ καὶ ἀρχεσθαι αὐτῶν ἐπιμελίσθαι καθ' ὅσον οἱοί τ' ἐσμέν (cf. *Euthyd.* 306 D); and finally Plato in the *Laos* (I, 642 C, D): τό τε ὑπὸ πολλῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς ὅσοι Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶν ἀγαθοὶ διαφερόντως εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι, δοκεῖ ἀληθέστατα λέγεσθαι· μόνου γὰρ ἄνευ ἀνάγκης αὐτοφυῶς θεία μοῖρα ἀληθῶς καὶ οὐ τι πλαστῶς εἰσὶν ἀγαθοί. The law did, to be sure, prescribe some education, if we may trust Plato (*Crito* 50 D ἢ οὐ καλῶς προσέταττον ἡμῶν οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις τεταγμένοι νόμοι, παραγγέλλοντες τῷ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ σε ἐν μουσικῇ καὶ γυμναστικῇ παιδεύειν;) but such a law was without sanction, and could only have applied to the well-to-do, in any event. There must have been many lads like the one Lysias speaks of (*pro Polystrato* 20, 11 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀγρῷ πένης ὦν ἐποίμαινεν, ὁ δὲ πατήρ ἐν τῷ ἄστυ ἐπαιδεύετο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, ὁ μὲν ἐγεώργει, ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἐσυκοφάντει), or like the saucy Agoracritus in the *Knights* (Ar. *Eg.* 188; cf. 636) raised in the ἀγορά, with such little knowledge of γράμματα as he could pick up by the way. Cf. for illiteracy, Eur. frag. 927 N; Cratin. frag. 122 Kock.

¹ So Plato *Euthyd.* 306 D (Crito speaks) καὶ μὴν, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τῶν υἱέων, ὥσπερ ἀεὶ πρὸς σε λέγω, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ εἰμί, τί δεῖ αὐτοῖς χρῆσασθαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν νεώτερος ἔτι καὶ σμικρὸς ἐστι, Κριτὸβούλος δ' ἤδη ἡλικίαν ἔχει καὶ δεῖται τινος ὅστις αὐτὸν δόησει, etc. Cf. *Laches* 179 A; 180 C, D; *Meno* 93 D–94 C.

² Plato *Laches* 179 E. See above, p. 80, note 2. For ὅπλομαχία as a branch of the ephebic training see Aristotle *Resp. Ath.* 42, 3 etc.

³ Xen. *Mem.* 1, 2, 40; Plato *Alc. I* 123 D; cf. ib. 106 E; 110 B.

Socrates rehearses for us the entire list of Alcibiades' accomplishments, and contrasts the latter's careless training with the oversight given a Persian prince.¹ It is inconceivable that Alcibiades either was an *ἐφηβος* in Aristotle's sense or looked forward to being one. We see the young Glaucon, ambitious for distinction in the *ἐκκλησία* at the time when, if Aristotle's *ἐφηβεία* were a fact,² he should have been living in barracks or making the circuit of the Attic garrisons; it incidentally develops that he is utterly ignorant of the military system, and has never even visited the frontier.³ These are far from being isolated examples⁴ in an age which like our own might well be called the "young man's era."⁵ Recall the most authentic statements of the age at which

¹ Plato *Alc.* I 106E ἀλλὰ μὴν ἃ γε μεμάθηκας, σχεδὸν τι καὶ ἐγὼ οἶδα· εἰ δέ τι ἐμὲ λέληθεν, εἰπέ. ἔμαθες γὰρ δὴ σύ γε κατὰ μνήμην τὴν ἐμὴν γράμματα καὶ κιθαρίζειν καὶ παλαίειν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ αὐτεῖν γε ἤθελες μαθεῖν· ταῦτ' ἔστιν ἃ σὺ ἐπίστασαι.

² Xen. *Mem.* 3, 6, 1 Γλαῦκωνα δὲ τὸν Ἀρίστωνος, δὲτ' ἐπεχειρεῖ δημηγορεῖν, ἐπιθυμῶν προστατεύειν τῆς πόλεως οὐδέπω εἰκοσιν ἔτη γεγονώς, τῶν ἄλλων οἰκείων τε καὶ φίλων οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο παῦσαι ἐλκόμενόν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ καταγέλαστον ὄντα. Schömann-Lipsius (*Gr. Alt.*⁴, I, p. 378, Anm. 3), assuming a compulsory *ἐφηβεία*, set aside this passage and the statement of Aristotle (*Resp. Ath.* 42 init.), and assume that the youth was denied his seat in the ecclesia until the close of his twentieth year. Under my conception of the *ἐφηβεία* the assumption is not needed.

³ Xen. *Mem.* 3, 6, 5. Socrates goes on to examine Glaucon as to the public revenues, their sources and value; as to the number and equipment and disposition of the troops (3, 6, 10 ἀλλὰ τοι περὶ γε φυλακῆς τῆς χώρας οἶδ' ὅτι ἤδη σοι μεμέληκε καὶ οἶσθα ὁπόσαι τε φυλακαὶ ἐπὶ καιροῖ εἰσι καὶ ὁπόσαι μὴ, καὶ ὁπόσοι τε φρουροὶ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι καὶ ὁπόσοι μὴ εἰσι, etc., and, on Glaucon's vague reply, (11) ἀτάρ, ἔφη, πότερον ἐλθὼν αὐτὸς ἐξήτακας τοῦτο, ἢ πῶς οἶσθα ὅτι κακῶς φυλάττονται; Εἰκάζω, ἔφη).

⁴ Cf. the young man in the following fragment of Antiphon, who immediately on attaining his majority (and even Schömann allows that "Die privatrechtliche Mündigkeit . . . begann gesetzlich schon im neunzehnten Jahre") makes for Abydos to enjoy himself there, with no thought of an *ἐφηβεία*. Antiphon frag. 67 (69), ap. Athen. 12, p. 525B: ἐπειδὴ ἐδοκιμάσθης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, παραλαβὼν παρ' αὐτῶν τὰ σαντοῦ χρήματα, ᾧχου ἀποπλέων εἰς Ἀβυδον, οὔτε χρέος ἴδιον σαντοῦ πραξέμενος οὐδὲν οὔτε προξενίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἔνεκα, ἀλλὰ τῇ σαντοῦ παρανομίᾳ καὶ ἀκολασίᾳ τῆς γνώμης ὁμοίους ἔργων τρόπους μαθησόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ γυναικῶν, ὅπως ἐν τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ βίῳ σαντοῦ ἔχοις χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς.

⁵ Cf. the whole career of Alcibiades (in particular Thuc. 5, 43, 2; 6, 18, 6) and the many complaints in the poets that the young were pushing the old out of their places in council. Ar. *Eg.* 1382

μὰ Δι' ἀλλ' ἀναγκάσω κυνηγετεῖν ἐγὼ
τούτους ἅπαντας παυσάμενους ψηφισμάτων,

Aristophanes¹ and Agathon² began to write and exhibit plays — and win prizes in open competition with the best poets of the time — and it seems extremely unlikely that their work of preparation should have been robbed of two precious years spent in military pursuits. Even

says the reformed Agoracritus; Ps.-Andoc. *in Alc.* 22 τοιγάρτοι τῶν νέων αἱ διατριβαὶ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις εἰσὶ, καὶ στρατεύονται μὲν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, δημηγοροῦσι δὲ οἱ νεώτεροι, παραδείγματι τούτῳ (sc. Ἀλκιβιάδῃ) χρώμενοι (cf. 39). So Ps.-Xen. *Rep. Ath.* I, 13. Ar. *Eq.* 1375

τὰ μειράκια ταυτὶ λέγω τὰν τῷ μύρῳ
ᾧ στωμυλεῖται τοιαδὶ καθήμενα, etc.

Ar. *Ran.* 1069

εἴτ' αὖ λαλιὰν ἐπιτηδεῦσαι καὶ στωμυλλίαν ἐδίδαξας
ἧ' ἔκεκνωσεν τὰς τε παλαιστρας καὶ τὰς πυγὰς ἐνέτριψεν
τῶν μειρακίων στωμυλλομένων, etc. (cf. Pherecr. frag. 56 Meineke).

Eupolis *Dem.* frag. 100 Kock

καὶ μήκετ', ὦναξ Μιλτιάδῃ καὶ Περικλέες,
ἔάσεται ἄρχειν μειράκια κινούμενα
ἐν τοῖν σφυροῖν ἔλκοντα τὴν στρατηγίαν (cf. Ar. *Av.* 1437 sqq.);

and frag. 310

καὶ λέγουσιν γε

τὰ μειράκια προῖστάμενα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.

Ar. *Ach.* 600

ὄρων πολιοῦς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν
νεανίας δ' οἴους σὺ (sc. Λάμαχος) διαδεδρακότας . . . ;

ib. 680

ὑπὸ νεανίσκων ἔατε καταγελαῖσθαι ῥητόρων.

Cf. 685; and add Lysias *in Alc. I* (14) 25; Plato *Menex.* 234 A; Ar. *Av.* 1430, etc.

¹ There seems no good reason to doubt Aristophanes' own testimony. Ar. *Nub.* 528

ἐξ ὅτου γὰρ ἐνθάδ' ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν, οἷς ἡδὺ καὶ λέγειν,
ὁ σῶφρων τε χῶ' καταπύγων ἀριστ' ἡκουσάτην,
κάγώ, παρθένος γὰρ ἔτ' ἦν, κοῦκ ἐξῆν πῶ μοι τεκεῖν,
ἐξέθηκα, etc.

Cf. *Vesp.* 1017; *Eq.* 512 sqq. This certainly means that the poet was under age when he wrote.

² Agathon won his first victory 416 B.C. (Plato *Symp.* 173 A; 175 D etc.). He is called νεανίσκος 198 A, but in 223 A he is called μειράκιον — the favorite term for a lad just attaining his majority, and nowhere, so far as I find, used of a young fellow over twenty-five. Further, it seems perfectly clear from the *Thesmophoriazusae* that Agathon is a younger man than Aristophanes. At the very outside he is well under thirty. And he must have written plays before this. See Van Leeuwen, Introduction to his edition of the *Thesmophoriazusae* (Leyden, 1904).

should we extend Girard's hypothesis, that the course of training was later made voluntary,¹ to cover the earlier period, we can hardly suppose that all the young men I have mentioned were exceptions. Aristotle's ἐφηβεία was an institution which fathers like Pericles and Thucydides and Themistocles and Aristides, who aimed, as Plato tells us, to give their sons the best training² attainable, would have welcomed beyond all else. These young men of the best blood at Athens would not have been shut out from so peculiar a privilege, even if it had been possible for them to neglect it. As it is, Girard supposes no exemptions in our period.

But we are not obliged to content ourselves with pointing out individual discrepancies; the entire institution involves such a departure from the traditions of Athenian government that we can give it no place in the fifth century.³ It is unique in Attic institutions. Spartan and paternal in its spirit, it is a surrender of Athenian individualism which could hardly have been made except at a time when old ideals were already hopelessly subverted. Not only is there no room for it in the lives of the young Athenians of whom we know anything,⁴ but there seems to be no knowledge of it on the part of the writers whose works have come down to us. We may grant at once that it is dangerous to argue *ex silentio*. And yet if Aristotle's ἐφηβεία, or any of its essential features, had been in existence at Athens in the fifth century, is it too much to suppose that somewhere in the pages of poet or philosopher, orator or historian, there would have been reference to it?⁵ We have

¹ He supposes the change to have occurred about 300 B.C. See op.c. p. 622. Iwan von Müller, *Gr. Privatalt. (Hdb. d. klass. Alt., IV, 1, B, p. 190)*, actually does make this assumption for the second year's service: "In das Korps der περίπολοι traten doch wohl nur die Wohlhabenden ein." Cf. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griech. und röm. Welt* (Leipzig, 1886).

² See the interesting passage in Plato's *Meno* pp. 93-94.

³ See in particular von Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, p. 191: "Das ist eine Institution, die grell von der ἐλευθερία, der παρρησία, dem ζῆν ὡς ἂν τις βούληται absticht, auf die die Demagogen Athens damals so stolz sind. Wer über diese Institution nicht zuerst den Kopf schüttelt, dem ist das athenische Leben und Denken vollkommen fremd geblieben, mag er auch dicke Bücher darüber geschrieben haben."

⁴ Von Wilamowitz (op.c. p. 192) has remarked that even in later writers we have no authentic mention of the ἐφηβεία of any historical personage in our period.

⁵ The reader is referred to von Wilamowitz' interesting collection of evidence on this point (op.c. p. 192).

three educational treatises¹ written during this period, with the special object of leading Athenian thought toward just such paternalism as finds expression in this ἐφηβεία. Xenophon,² for all that his heart was in Sparta, would hardly pass over a home institution so entirely in the spirit of that Phaeacian realm he calls Persian, and Plato would scarcely have ignored an Attic ἐφηβεία to which he might have pointed as a triumphant vindication of his educational theory. The resemblances between the ephebic system and that which Plato sketches³ are to be accounted for by the fact that the creators of the institution were indebted to him for the broad outlines of their work⁴ rather than by the assumption that so skilled an artist and earnest a reformer is only projecting into his Utopia the shadow of a reality. When the Athenian stranger is accusing Sparta of being a mere armed camp where the youth are herded as colts⁵ he surely has no picture of Attic youths in cantonments to disturb his conscience: and when the Spartan Megillus acknowledges that a good Athenian is superlatively good because his goodness springs from choice and not from compulsion,⁶ he can hardly be acquainted with so strenuous an effort to inculcate righteousness as the Ephebic College.

But it is in order to inquire what positive evidence there is to set against the strong presumption we have established. The earliest text which clearly refers to Aristotle's ἐφηβοι is the spurious *Axiochus*⁷ which

¹ Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*.

² Xen. *Cyrop.* I, 2, 4 sqq.

³ Among the more striking parallels we may instance the ἐπιμελητής ὁ περὶ τῆς παιδείας πάσης (12, 951 E; 11, 936 A), the system of φρουραί, and the expeditions to get acquainted with the country (6, 760 B).

⁴ So von Wilamowitz op.c. p. 194: "denn unmöglich kann man verkennen, daß es die Forderungen der Socraticer waren, die jetzt die Demagogen in ihrer Weise zu erfüllen suchten. Platons Gesetze haben die Ephebie erzeugt."

⁵ Plato *Laws* 2, 666 E. The Athenian, to the Cretan and Spartan: στρατοπέδου γὰρ πολιτείαν ἔχετε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ἄστυσι κατ' ὠκνηκώτων, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀθρόους πῶλους ἐν ἀγέλῃ νεμομένους φορβάδας τοὺς νέους κέκτησθε.

⁶ Plato *Laws* I, 642 C, D (see above, p. 81, note 3). Here the phrase τὸ λεγόμενον carries this reputation far back.

⁷ [Plato] *Axiochus* 366 D τί μέρος τῆς ἡλικίας ἄμοιρον τῶν ἀνιάρων; οὐ κατὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν τὸ νήπιον κλαίει, τοῦ ζῆν ἀπὸ λύπης ἀρχόμενον; . . . ὁπότεν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἑπταετίαν ἀφίκηται πολλοὺς πόνους διαντλήσαν, (ἐπέστησαν) παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ γραμματισταὶ καὶ παιδοτρίβαι τυραννοῦντες· αὐξομένον δὲ κριτικοί, γεωμέτραι, τακτικοί, πολὺ

Suidas¹ attributes to Aeschines the Socratic. There is a possible reference to the College in the *De Vectigalibus*, very doubtfully attributed to Xenophon.² The oldest inscription which mentions the ἐφήβοι is dated 334–333 B.C.³ The orator Aeschines in speaking of one of his schoolmates calls him συνέφηβος⁴ — and elsewhere refers to his own two years' service as περίπολος, calling to witness his fellow-ephebi.⁵ But this proves rather that in 372 B.C. nothing was known of Aristotle's division of the two years between theory and practice. We have later references in Demosthenes (19, 303) and in Lycurgus (*in Leocr.* 76) to the ephebic oath, though neither tells us anything of the character of the institution. Finally, the orator Deinarchus (3, 16) in his speech against Philocles speaks of the latter's defeat for election as supervisor of the ephebi,⁶ and this is really the only direct reference to the Aristotelian ἐφηβεία in the literature between Aristotle and Demetrius.⁷ This is the sum and substance of the literary evidence. Besides this we have only the authority of scholiasts and lexicographers, whose weakness is

πλήθος δεσποτῶν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγραφῇ, κοσμήτης καὶ φόβος χείρων, ἔπειτα Λύκειον καὶ Ἀκαδημία καὶ γυμνασιαρχία καὶ ῥάβδοι καὶ κακῶς ἀμετρίαι· καὶ πᾶς ὁ τοῦ μειρακίσκου χρόνος ἐστὶν ὑπὸ σωφρονιστὰς καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς νέους αἵρεσιν τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς.

¹ See Suidas s.vv. Αἰσχίνης, Ἀξίохος.

² Xen. *De Vect.* 4, 52 οἱ τε γὰρ ταχθέντες γυμνάζεσθαι πολλὸν ἂν ἐπιμελέστερον πράττοιεν τὰ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις, τὴν τροφὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντες πλείω ἢ ἐν ταῖς λαμπάσι γυμνασιαρχούμενοι· οἱ τε φρουρεῖν ἐν τοῖς φρουροῖς οἱ τε πελτάζειν καὶ περιπολεῖν τὴν χώραν, etc. That the ἐφήβοι were sometimes called περίπολοι is certain (cf. Aesch. 2, 167). See above, p. 80, note 1. But Girard (l.c. II, 2, p. 629) is quite right in not referring to the ephebi the various bodies so called in Thucydides (4, 67, 2, 5; 8, 92, 2, 5, etc.).

³ C.I.A., IV, Part 2 (p. 136), 536 b.

⁴ Aesch. *in Tim.* 49 (74) ἔνιοι μὲν γὰρ νέοι ὄντες προφερεῖς καὶ πρεσβύτεροι φάινονται, ἕτεροι δὲ πολλὸν ἀριθμὸν χρόνου γεγονότες παντάπασιν νέοι. τούτων δ' ἐστὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁ Μισγόλας. τυγχάνει μὲν γὰρ ἡλικιώτης ὦν ἐμὸς καὶ συνέφηβος καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῖν τουτὶ πεμπτὸν καὶ τετταρακοστὸν ἔτος· καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν τοσαυτασί ποτὶς ἔχω, ἃς ὑμεῖς ὄρατε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνος.

⁵ Aesch. *de fals. leg.* 167 ἐκ παίδων μὲν γὰρ ἀπαλλαγείς περίπολος τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐγενόμην δὲ ἔτη, καὶ τούτων ὑμῖν τοὺς συνεφήβους καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἡμῶν μάρτυρας παρέξομαι.

⁶ Dein. 3, 16 καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἅπας οὐτ' ἀσφαλὲς οὐτε δίκαιον νομίζων εἶναι παρακαταθέσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἀπεχειροτόνησεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων ἐπιμελείας, etc.

⁷ Cf. von Wilamowitz, *Arist. u. Athen*, I, p. 193.

just this tendency to confuse chronology, and whose accounts for the most part are plainly drawn from Aristotle.¹

I suppose the real difficulty which one feels is that of accounting for the ἐφηβεία as a creation. We have no record of its beginnings,² and it is easier to assume that it was a growth from ancient usage. Yet von Wilamowitz' theory that we owe the ephebic college to the wave of reform that swept over Athens in the year of Philip's death³ is suggestive, and not in itself unlikely. If we prefer to date its beginnings earlier, it is probable that this year saw marked changes in the character of the organization. Whatever was the immediate creative force, we can at least conjecture what served as a suggestion for it. From early times, the State had been accustomed to educate and care for the orphan children of citizens killed in battle⁴; when they came of

¹ This tendency is aggravated by the fact that the ἐφηβεία had so long a life. See Dumont (op.c.) and Girard (op.c.). Cf. on these accounts von Wilamowitz op.c. p. 193.

² Indeed it is this very fact that von Wilamowitz turns to account, reasoning that Aristotle in the *Athenian Constitution* must have been describing something under his own eyes, for whose beginnings he did not have to search in documents. See *Arist. u. Athen*, p. 194: "Hier ist das wichtige, daß Aristoteles eine vor seinen Augen neu eingeführte Institution schildert, natürlich auf Grund eigener Beobachtung. Auch ist nirgends formelhafte Urkundssprache. Das Capitel klingt viel frischer und lebhafter als alles folgende." See, however, the following note.

³ Speaking of the dedicatory inscription of the ephebi of the tribe Kekropis, above referred to (see p. 86, note 3), von Wilamowitz writes (op.c. p. 194): "Das ist so nahe an der oberen Grenze [sc. 335-334 B.C.], daß ich nicht anstehe, diese auf lange Zeit ohne Analogie dastehende Ehrung der ausgedienten Epheben der Freude über den ersten glücklichen Abschluß eines Curses zuzuschreiben, und die wichtigste Tatsache zu erschließen, daß die Zeit der großen Reformen im Jahre vor Philippos' Tode den Versuch einer Reform der Jugend, der Verstaatlichung des militärisch-sittlichen Erziehungswesens, gemacht hat. Die Säuberung und Sicherung der Bürgerschaft sollte bei Wege mit erreicht werden. Auch der Antragsteller scheint noch kenntlich. Harpokration hat unter Ἐπικράτης nach dem Demagogen, gegen den Lysias geschrieben hat, ἕτερος οὐ μνημονεύει Λυκούργος ἐν τῷ περὶ διοικήσεως λέγων ὡς χαλκοῦς ἐστάθη διὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐφήβων ὃν φασὶ κεκτῆσθαι ταλάντων ἑξακοσίων οὐσίαν." It is unwise to press the argument from evolution. There was a time in our own history before West Point and Annapolis.

⁴ So Thucyd. 2, 46, 1 of the slain: αὐτῶν τοὺς παῖδας τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε δημοσίᾳ ἡ πόλις μέχρι ἡβῆς θρέψει. Cf. Cratin. Πύλαια frag. 170 Meineke. The *locus classicus* is Plato's *Menexenus* p. 248 E: τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἵστε πον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὅτι νόμους θεμένῃ περὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων παιδᾶς τε καὶ γεννήτορας ἐπιμελεῖται,

age they were formally presented to the people in the great theatre, were given full armor by the State, and, with the blessing of their fathers and the gods, were "sent about their own concerns."¹ Such a ceremonial as this is of itself strong proof that the brilliant pageants of the ephebic reviews were as yet unknown²; and yet we may well suppose that it served as a suggestion for them. It is significant that after the ἐφηβεία begins to attract attention we hear no more of the presentation of the orphans.³

The young Athenian, then, of Aristophanes' time was his own master, as soon as he saw his name inscribed in the deme register. He was liable — unless, indeed, he were an orphan⁴ — to all the countless contributions which men of means were called upon to make, and he had to serve like the rest in the army when need came. We may fancy that the call to arms came only too often in those troublous years. But unless he were so employed, he was free to come and to go about such business as pleased him.

III

It is always interesting to compare intentions with results, and we can more intelligently interpret our Athenian boy as he was if we clearly understand at the outset what his elders' plans for him were.⁵

καὶ διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν προστέτακται φυλάττειν ἀρχῇ ἥπερ μεγίστη ἐστίν, ὅπως ἂν οἱ τούτων μὴ ἀδικῶνται πατέρες τε καὶ μητέρες· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας συνεκτρέφει αὐτή, προθυμουμένη ὅ τι μάλιστα ἄδηλον αὐτοῖς τὴν ὀρφανίαν γενέσθαι, ἐν πατρὸς σχήματι καταστᾶσα αὐτοῖς αὐτὴ ἔτι τε παισὶν οὖσι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν εἰς ἀνδρὸς τέλος ἴωσιν, ἀποπέμπει ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερόν αὐτῶν πανοπλίᾳ κοσμήσασα, ἐνδεικνυμένη καὶ ἀναμινήσκουσα τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδεύματα ὄργανα τῆς πατρῴας ἀρετῆς διδοῦσα, καὶ ἅμα οἰωνοῦ χάριν ἀρχεσθαι ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἐστίαν ἀρξόντα κατ' ἰσχύος ὅπλοις κεκοσμημένον.

¹ See the *Menexenus* passage in the foregoing note; and add Isocr. *de Pace* (8) 82 καὶ παρεισῆγον (sc. εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν τοῖς Διονυσίοις) τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότων. Cf. also Aristotle *Pol.* 2, 5, 4 (1268A, 6); Aesch. *in Ctes.* 154. It is probably the examination of these orphans that was part of the dicast's duty (Ar. *Vesp.* 577; Ps.-Xen. *Rep. Ath.* 3, 4 etc.).

² The State's care of the orphans of the slain loses much of its significance, if we suppose it to have existed side by side with a rationing of thousands of ephebi who had not this peculiar claim upon her bounty.

³ Both Isocrates (l.c.) and Aeschines (l.c.) are speaking of it as already passed out of use.

⁴ That orphans were exempted from λητουργίαι for one year more, we learn from Lysias *in Diogeit.* (32, 24).

⁵ Plato *Rep.* 4, 425A; Ar. *Nub.* 961 sqq.; Plato *Protag.* 325C sq.; *Charm.* 158C; 159B; *Rep.* 3, 389D; Aesch. *in Tim.* (33) 7; Isocr. *Areop.* (7) 37 and 46. These

It was no careless training that made the mighty men of Marathon and Salamis, to whom the Δίκαιος Λόγος points with pride.¹ From boyhood's earliest years their days were spent under the eye of a παιδαγωγός,² who supervised with parental assistance the boy's minutest act,³ his manners at table,⁴ the very way he walked,⁵ or wore his mantle,⁶ or buckled his shoes⁷; at school his teachers drilled him in εὐκοσμία far

passages are too long to quote in full here; portions of them will be referred to later. See also Hermann-Blümner, *Gr. Privatalte.*³, p. 302 sqq.

¹ Ar. *Nub.* 986 . . . ἀλλ' οὖν ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνα

ἐξ ὧν ἄνδρας Μαραθωνομάχους ἡμὴ παίδευσις ἔθρεψεν.

² Plato *Protag.* 325 C ἐκ παίδων σμικρῶν ἀρξάμενοι, μέχρι οὐπερ ἂν ζῶσι, καὶ διδάσκουσι καὶ νουθετοῦσιν. ἐπειδὴν θᾶπτον συνιῇ τις τὰ λεγόμενα, καὶ τροφὸς καὶ μήτηρ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πατήρ περὶ τούτου διαμάχονται, ὅπως βέλτιστος ἔσται ὁ παῖς, παρ' ἑκαστον καὶ ἔργον καὶ λόγον διδάσκοντες καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενοι, ὅτι τὸ μὲν δίκαιον, τὸ δὲ ἄδικον, καὶ τόδε μὲν καλόν, τόδε δὲ αἰσχρόν, καὶ τόδε μὲν ὅσιον, τόδε δὲ ἀνόσιον, καὶ τὰ μὲν ποιεῖ, τὰ δὲ μὴ ποιεῖ. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐκὼν πείθεται· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὥσπερ ξύλον διαστρεφόμενον καὶ καμπτόμενον εὐθύνουσιν ἀπειλαῖς καὶ πληγαῖς. So Xen. *Rep. Lac.* 2, 1; Plato *Symp.* 183 C, D; *Lysis* 223 A; 208 C; *Laws* 3, 700 C; *Alc. I*, 121 E; Aesch. in *Tim.* (35) 10; Lysias in *Diogeit.* (32) 28. Cf. Antiphanes *Misophon.* frag. 159 Kock; Euripides *Medea* and *Phoenissae* passim; *Ion* 725, etc.

³ See the latter part of the passage from the *Protagoras* (325 D) quoted above (note 2), and cf. Plato *Rep.* 4, 425 A καὶ τὰ σμικρὰ ἄρα, εἶπον, δοκοῦντα εἶναι νόμιμα ἐξευρίσκουσιν οὗτοι, αἱ οἱ πρότερον ἀπώλλυσαν πάντα.—ποῖα;—τὰ τοιάδε· σιγὰς τε τῶν νεωτέρων παρὰ πρεσβυτέρους, αἷς πρέπει, καὶ κατακλίσεις καὶ ὑπασαστάσεις καὶ γονέων θεραπείας, καὶ κουράς γε καὶ ἀμπεχόνας καὶ ὑποδέσεις καὶ ὅλον τὸν τοῦ σώματος σχηματισμὸν καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα. Cf. also Ar. *Nub.* 961 sqq.

⁴ Ar. *Nub.* 981 sqq.

οὐδ' ἂν ἐλέσθαι δειπνοῦντ' ἐξῆν κεφάλαιον τῆς ῥαφανίδος,
οὐδ' ἀννηθον τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀρπάζειν οὐδὲ σέλινον,
οὐδ' ὀψοφαγεῖν οὐδὲ κιχλίζειν οὐδ' ἴσχειν τῷ πόδ' ἐναλλάξ.

So Autolycus (Xen. *Symp.* 1, 8) sits, while the rest recline.

⁵ Ar. *Nub.* 964

εἶτα βαδίζειν ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς εὐτάκτως ἐς κιθαριστοῦ
τοὺς κωμήτας γυμνοὺς ἄθρόους, καὶ κριμνώδη κατανείφοι.

Cf. Plato *Charm.* 159 B ἔπειτα μέντοι εἶπεν ὅτι οἱ δοκοῖ σωφροσύνη εἶναι τὸ κοσμίως πάντα πράττειν καὶ ἡσυχῇ, ἔν τε ταῖς ὁδοῖς βαδίζειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὡσαύτως ποιεῖν.

⁶ See Plato *Rep.* 4, 425 A (note 2 above). It is worthy of note that the boys' dress was very simple in these good old times, if we may credit Aristophanes (See note 5 above).

⁷ Plato *Rep.* 4, 425 A. (See note 2 above).

more carefully than in any learning¹; he lived in continual danger of whippings and threats²; at home he obeyed the slightest suggestion of father or mother³; he was quick with little attentions⁴; when his elders entered the room, he rose from his seat⁵; he never spoke unless he was spoken to.⁶ As he grew older, he still avoided the ἀγορά⁷ and its lessons of evil; he had no thoughts of girls⁸ or of

¹ Plato *Protag.* 325 D (see note 2, p. 89) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς διδασκάλων πέμποντες πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐντέλλονται ἐπιμελεῖσθαι εὐκοσμίας τῶν παιδῶν ἢ γραμμάτων τε καὶ κιθαρίσεως. Cf. the details of such oversight in *Ar. Nuḅ.* 967–976. So *Aesch. in Tim.* 7 σκέψασθε γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσην πρόνοιαν περὶ σωφροσύνης ἐποιήσατο ὁ Σόλων ἐκείνος, ὁ παλαιὸς νομοθέτης, καὶ ὁ Δράκων καὶ οἱ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐκείνους νομοθέται. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ περὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης τῶν παιδῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐνομοθέτησαν καὶ διαρρήδην ἀπέδειξαν ἃ χρὴ τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐλεύθερον ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ ὡς δεῖ αὐτὸν τραφῆναι, ἔπειτα δεύτερον περὶ τῶν μειρακίων, τρίτον δ' ἐφεξῆς περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡλικιῶν. Cf. *Isocr. Areop.* 41 sq.

² See Plato *Protag.* 325 D (note 2, p. 89); *Lysis* 208 D; *Ar. Vesp.* 1297, 1355; *Nuḅ.* 969 sq.

εἰ δέ τις αὐτῶν βωμολοχεύσται ἢ κάμψειν τινα κάμπην
οἷας οἱ νῦν τὰς κατὰ Φρυγίαν ταύτας τὰς δυσκολοκάμπτους,
ἐπετρίβετο τυπτόμενος πολλὰς ὡς τὰς Μούσας ἀφανίζων.

³ *Ar. Nuḅ.* 998 μηδ' ἀντειπεῖν τῷ πατρὶ μηδέν. So Plato *Protag.* 325 C (note 2, p. 89); *Lysis* 207 D sqq.; *Rep.* 3, 389 D; *Isocr. Areop.* (7) 49 ἀντειπεῖν δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἢ λοιδορήσασθαι δεινότερον ἐνόμιζον ἢ νῦν περὶ τοὺς γονέας ἐξαμαρτεῖν.

⁴ Cf. Plato *Rep.* 4, 425 A γονέων θεραπείας (note 3, p. 89).

⁵ Plato *Rep.* 4, 425 A; *Ar. Nuḅ.* 993 καὶ τῶν θάκων τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑπανίστασθαι προσιοῦσιν.

⁶ Plato *Rep.* 4, 425 A (note 3, p. 89); *Ar. Nuḅ.* 963 πρῶτον μὲν ἔδει παιδὸς φωνὴν γρύξαντος μηδὲν ἀκοῦσαι. So Autolycus in Xenophon's *Symposium* speaks but once during the meal, at which ἅπαντες ἡσθόντες ὅτι ἤκουσαν αὐτοῦ φωνήσαντος προσέβλεψαν (3, 12), much to his confusion.

⁷ *Ar. Nuḅ.* 991 κάπιστήσῃ μισεῖν ἀγορὰν καὶ βαλανεῶν ἀπέχεσθαι, etc.; ib. 1003, 1055; *Isocr. Areop.* (7) 48 οὕτω δ' ἔφενγον τὴν ἀγορὰν ὥστ' εἰ καὶ ποτε διελλθεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖεν, μετὰ πολλῆς αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐφαίνοντο τοῦτο ποιοῦντες. So *Xen. Mem.* 4, 2, 1 αἰσθανόμενος αὐτὸν (sc. Euthydemus) διὰ νεότητα οὕτω εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν εἰσιόντα, εἰ δέ τι βούλοιο διαπράξασθαι καθίζοντα εἰς ἡνιοποιεῖδν τι τῶν ἐγγὺς τῆς ἀγορᾶς, εἰς τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς (sc. Socrates) ἦει τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τινὰς ἔχων. Cf. *Ar. Eq.* 1373, where Agoracritus says of his regenerate State: οὐδ' ἀγοράσει γ' ἀγένειος οὐδεὶς ἐν ἀγορᾷ.

⁸ Cf. *Ar. Nuḅ.* 996 sqq.

μηδ' εἰς ὀρχηστρίδος εἰσάπτειν, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ταῦτα κεχηνῶς
μήλῳ βληθεὶς ὑπὸ πορνιδίου τῆς εὐκλείας ἀποθρανισθῇς.

lovers¹; his interests were all in his own little world of lessons and games and out-of-door sports,² while he was growing to a manhood healthy and wealthy — and not *too* wise to be contented with the good old customs of his fathers.³ If we permit ourselves to suspect that this account is too highly colored to be taken as a picture of actual conditions,⁴ it is at least valuable as an index of the older Athenian ideal. Life has a tendency to grow complex — at least, the little things of every day that busy us have slipped out of our records of the past, and it seems simpler to us in

So Isocr. *Areop.* (7) 48 τοιγαροῦν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς σκιραφείοις οἱ νεώτεροι διέτριβον, οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς αὐλητρίσιν, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις συλλόγοις, ἐν οἷς νῦν διημερεῖουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἔμενον ἐν οἷς ἐτάχθησαν, θαυμάζοντες καὶ ζηλοῦντες τοὺς ἐν τούτοις πρωτεύοντας. Cf. Plato *Rep.* 3, 389 D.

¹ Ar. *Nub.* 979 sqq.

οὐκ ἂν μαλακὴν φυρασάμενος τὴν φωνὴν πρὸς τὸν ἐραστὴν
αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν προαγωγέων τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐβάδιζεν.

Cf. 975–976 supra, and add Plato *Symp.* 183 C, D, etc.

² So Isocr. *Areop.* (7) 48 (note 8, p. 90); add Ar. *Nub.* 1005 sqq.

ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδήμειαν κατιῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς μορφαῖς ἀποθρέξει
στεφανωσάμενος καλὰ μὲν λευκῶ μετὰ σώφρονος ἡλικιώτου, etc.

³ See the picture in the *Clouds* (1000–1014) of the healthy young fellow in good training. We come upon the conservative note again and again in the literature. Cf. *Nub.* 969 ἐντειναμένους τὴν ἁρμονίαν ἣν οἱ πατέρες παρέδωκαν. It was a period of “good old ignorance” if we may believe Aristophanes (*Ran.* 1072–1073). There seems to have been in the Greeks a deep-seated dread of too much learning. Cf. Plato *Laws* 7, 811 B κινδυνὸν φημι εἶναι φέρουσιν τοῖς παισὶ τὴν πολυμαθίαν.

⁴ So even Becker-Göll (*Charikles*, II, p. 81): “Aber freilich mag dieses Bild einem großen Theil der jungen Leute, auch aus früherer Zeit, nicht entsprechen.” Grote (*Hist. of Greece*, VIII, p. 371) gives in another context a striking illustration of the universal tendency to idealize the past at the expense of the present: “But when these same men [i.e. the ‘villains’ of to-day] have become numbered among the mingled recollections and fancies belonging to the past, — when a future generation comes to be present, with its appropriate stock of denunciation, — then it is that men find pleasure in dressing up the virtue of the past as a count in the indictment against their own contemporaries. Aristophanes, writing during the Peloponnesian War, denounced the *Demos* of his day as degenerated from the virtue of that *Demos* which had surrounded Miltiades and Aristides, while Isocrates, writing as an old man, between 350–340 B.C., complains in like manner of his own time, boasting how much better the state of Athens had been in his youth; which period of his youth fell exactly during the life of Aristophanes, in the last half of the Peloponnesian War.”

comparison with the present. Certainly those days of the Persian wars were too full of stern necessity for life to be quite flexible and genial. Something of the severity and simplicity of the camp, a certain pioneer seriousness, seems to have left its mark on the earlier education long after the conditions of living had changed. But the horizon of the young Athenian under Pericles was swiftly expanding; he was outgrowing the knowledge of his fathers as his city had outgrown the city of Marathon and Salamis.¹ The new wine of his ambitions soon burst the old bottles of traditional restraint. And then with the great disasters of the Peloponnesian war it must have been borne in upon the young man that the old order was pitiably inadequate to the burden laid upon it. It was inevitable that he should chafe at restrictions, and ridicule customs, which he felt to be useless; and that his elders

¹ The comic poets are full of this overturning. See note 5, p. 82. Add also Eupolis frag. 139 Kock

τὰ Στησιχόρου τε καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος Σιμωνίδου τε
ἀρχαῖον αἰδεῖν· ὁ δὲ Γνήσιππος ἔστιν ἀκοῦειν.
κείνος νυκτερίνῃ ἤνρε μοιχοῖς αἰίσματ' ἐκκαλεῖσθαι
γυναῖκας ἔχοντας λαμβύκην τε καὶ τρίγωνον.

Ar. *Nub.* 1355, of young Pheidippides:

᾿πειδὴ γὰρ εἰστιώμεθ', ὥσπερ ἴστε,
πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν λύραν λαβόντ' ἐγὼ κ' ἐλευσα
ᾷσαι Σιμωνίδου μέλος, τὸν Κρόνον ὧς ἐπέχθη·
ὁ δ' εὐθέως ἀρχαῖον εἰν' ἔφασκε τὸ καθαρίζειν
ᾄδειν τε πίνονθ' ὥσπερ εἰ κάχρυσ γυναῖκ' ἀλούσαν, etc.

Ar. *Nub.* 998

μηδ' Ἰαπετὸν καλέσαντα
μνησικακῆσαι τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐξ ἧς ἐνεοττοτροφήθης (cf. 994).

So Plato (*Laus* 3, 700c), eulogizing the ancient severity of taste in music, says: τὸ δὲ κύριον τούτων γινῶναι τε καὶ ἅμα γινόντα δικάσαι ζημιῶν τε αὐτὸν μὴ πειθόμενον οὐ σύριγξ ἦν οὐδέ τινες ἄμουσοι βοᾶν πλήθους καθάπερ τὰ νῦν, οὐδ' αὖ κρότοι ἐπαίνους ἀποδιδόντες, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν γεγονόσι περὶ παιδείας δεδογμένον ἀκοῦειν ἦν αὐτοῖς μετὰ σιγῆς διὰ τέλους, παισὶ δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγοῖς καὶ τῷ πλείεστω ὄχλῳ βράβδου κοσμούσης ἢ νουθέτησις ἐγίγνετο (cf. 710A; *Rep.* 3, 339C, etc.). It is this superficial view that we get in the literature: the inevitable disorder, the extravagances of a period that has caught the fever of change for change's sake, and is ready to cut loose from the old just because it *is* old. And we are regaled with the youthful excesses of the few, as if *that* were the consummate flower of the New Thought. See Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, VIII, p. 331 sqq., who goes too far to the other extreme.

should misunderstand and rebuke — and be at the last set aside.¹ The conservative instinct, so strong in the Athenian character,² in spite of that love “for some new thing” which has been proverbial, clung to the old educational institutions long after the spirit had departed from them. Yet little by little the new ideals were fashioning for themselves their own expression.

We are in the midst of these strugglings — this “decadence” as it must have seemed — when the young Aristophanes steps upon the stage. He himself seems quite unconscious of the debt he owes to the conditions he derides; he sets his face stubbornly toward the past. The light of the New Thought seems to blind his eyes, which revel rather in the grotesque shadows that are cast in corners where it cannot penetrate. How much of this attitude is due to the poet’s dramatic sense of the humor of reform,³ the artist’s keen perception of its crudities and inconsistencies, and how much to deliberate conviction that the old ways were best, it is probably impossible for us to determine.⁴ But, whether drawn in grave earnest or conceived in playful humor, the comedian’s picture of the New Education is at best broad caricature. Even here, to be sure, glimpses of the normal boy come to us, and we

¹ On this attitude see note 5, p. 82, note 1, p. 92, and add Eupolis frag. 357 Kock

ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ περθεσθε πάντως μεταβαλόντες τοὺς τρόπους
μὴ φθονεῖθ’ ὅταν τις ἡμῶν μουσικῇ χαίρη νέων.

² See H. W. Smyth, *Aspects of Greek Conservatism*, in *Harvard Studies*, Vol. XVII, pp. 49-73.

³ The repose, the dignity, the assurance, are always with the conservative. Very few of us are pleasing spectacles while we are in the heat of conflict. From the aesthetic point of view age, with arms laid by, has awkward youth at a disadvantage. And somehow Aristophanes, for all his keen insight and poetic inspiration, seems never to have outgrown that point of view entirely. The “lover of Aphrodite and Dionysus” had pinned his faith to things as they were. In this era of overturning, he feared for the things his soul delighted in — “the cakes and ale” that he knew of old. He saw forces at work which were sweeping his Athens into strange and perilous waters. And he fought one long battle for peace — at any price. Few careful students of the great comedian will agree with Grote, who sets him down as a mere jester, entirely lacking in serious purpose.

⁴ For two different views of the poet’s motives see M. Croiset, *Aristophane et les Partis à Athènes* (Paris, 1906); A. Couat, *Aristophane et l’ancienne comédie attique*³ (Paris, 1902).

find him large as life in the pages of Xenophon and Plato. If we do hear at times of disreputable little rascals like those Aristophanes describes, the young fellows whom we meet are for the most part good to know. The New Learning has cast its spell upon them. They feel the restless activity of inquiry, the enthusiasm for knowledge, that mark the new era. Happy to be in the midst of discussion, they are sometimes tempted to neglect for it even the healthy sports that delighted their fathers. But they are still true to the ideals of αἰδώς and σωφροσύνη, however much the new interpretation of these virtues may differ from the old.

It has been usual to suppose that the Athenian boys were kept pretty well apart from older men during their school years. It is a surprise, accordingly, to find that the literature presupposes a constant participation of the boys in the community life. It has always seemed strange that boys who grew up into such keen-witted men as the average Athenian of the καλοὶ καγαθοί should have been so stupid and incurious as the young "milk-sop" in the *Clouds*.¹ To any one who has had to do with the modern boy and realized his restless inquisitiveness, it has seemed incredible that a boy like Lysitheus, who at thirteen, in the heart-breaking anxiety of the times of the Thirty, could say οὔτε τί ἐστιν ὀλιγαρχία ἡπιστάμην, should have been typical.²

In the first place, we must understand that the oversight to which the boy was subjected was by no means so thorough in practice as it was in theory. One pedagogue, and he sometimes aged and infirm,³ seems to

¹ Ar. *Nub.* 1000: says the "Ἀδικος Λόγος,

εἰ ταῦτ', ὃ μαιράκιον, πείσει τούτῳ, νῆ τὸν Διόνυσον,
τοῖς Ἱπποκράτους υἱέσιν εἴξεις καὶ σε καλοῦσι βλιτομάμμαν.

² Lysias *in Theomnest.* I (10), 4 ἐμοὶ γὰρ, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἔτη εἰς τριάκοντα τρία . . . φαίνομαι οὖν τρισκαίδεκέτης ὣν ὅτε ὁ πατήρ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀπέθνησκε. ταύτην δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἡλικίαν οὔτε τί ἐστιν ὀλιγαρχία ἡπιστάμην (cf. *ib.* 11, 2). One must allow also for some exaggeration here, since Lysitheus is interested in over-drawing his innocence. Much more natural is the passage in Aeschines (*in Tim.* 186 (178)): τίνα δ' ἔχων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν γνώμην ἐπάνεισιν οἴκαδε ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου; οὔτε γὰρ ὁ κρινόμενος ἀφανής, ἀλλὰ γνώριμος, οὐθ' ὁ νόμος ὁ περὶ τῆς τῶν ῥητόρων δοκιμασίας φαῦλος, ἀλλὰ κάλλιστος, τό τ' ἐρέσθαι τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τοῖς μαιρακίοις τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οἰκείους, ὅπως τὸ πρᾶγμα κέκριται, πρόχειρον. τί οὖν δὴ λέξετε οἱ τῆς ψήφου νυνὶ γεγονότες κύριοι, ὅταν οἱ ὑμέτεροι παῖδες ὑμᾶς ἔρωνται, εἰ κατεδικάσατε ἢ ἀπεψηφίσασθε; etc.

³ Cf. Plato *Alc.* I 122 B σοὶ δ', ὃ 'Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, Περικλῆς ἐπέστησε παιδαγωγὸν τῶν οἰκετῶν τὸν ἀχρειώτατον ὑπὸ γήρως Ζώπυρον τὸν Θράκα.

have been the usual allowance for a family of children.¹ It must have been very easy for a determined boy to find opportunities to do much as he chose to, even if he did not openly defy authority like the young Alcibiades.² Visitors were certainly common at the schools³ and palaestras,⁴

¹ So Plato *Lysis* 223 A. Socrates and others are at the palaestra, conversing with young Lysis and Menexenus: κατὰ ὥσπερ δαίμονες τινες προσελθόντες οἱ παιδαγωγοί, ὃ τε τοῦ Μενεξένου καὶ ὁ τοῦ Λύσιδος, ἔχοντες αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀδελφούς, παρεκάλουν καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς οἰκαδ' ἀπιέναι· ἤδη γὰρ ἦν ὀψέ. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ περιεστῶτες αὐτοὺς ἀπηλαύνομεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζον ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ὑποβαρβαρίζοντες ἡγανάκτουν τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐκάλουν, ἀλλ' ἐδδόντων ἡμῖν ὑποπεπωκότες ἐν τοῖς Ἑρμαίοις ἄποροι εἶναι προσφέρεσθαι, ἡττηθέντες οὖν αὐτῶν διελύσαμεν τὴν συνουσίαν. Add Lysias in *Diogeit.* (32) 28 καὶ θήσω . . . εἰς δύο παῖδας καὶ ἀδελφήν καὶ παιδαγωγὸν καὶ θεράπαιναν, etc. Cf. Eurip. *Medea*; *Phoenissae*; *Ion* 725, for pedagogues of long service, and with several ages of children.

² Lysias in *Alc.* I (14) 25 οὗτος γὰρ παῖς μὲν ὢν παρ' Ἀρχεδήμῳ τῷ γλάμονι, οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑφηρημένῳ, πολλῶν ὁρώντων ἔπινε μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ ἀετώματι κατακείμενος, ἐκώμαζε δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν, ἀνηβος ἑταίρῳ ἔχων, μιμούμενος τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ προγόνους, καὶ ἡγούμενος οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι πρεσβύτερος ὢν λαμπρὸς γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ νέος ὢν πονηρότατος δόξει εἶναι. (Cf. 26.) Tales of like nature are told of the elder Alcibiades (Antiphon frag. 66 Blass).

³ Xen. *Symp.* 4, 28 αὐτὸν δὲ σε, ἔφη (sc. ὁ Χαρμίδης), ἐγὼ εἶδον . . . ὅτε παρὰ τῷ γραμματιστῇ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ βιβλίῳ ἀμφότεροι (sc. Socrates and Critobulus) ἐμαστεύετε τι τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τὸν ὦμον γυμνὸν πρὸς γυμνῷ τῷ Κριτοβούλῳ ὦμῳ ἔχοντα. So Plato *Alc.* I 110 B πολλάκις σοὺ ἐν διδασκάλῳ ἤκουον παιδὸς ὄντος καὶ ἄλλοθι καὶ ὅποτε ἀστραγαλίζοις ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ παιδιὰν παίζεις, etc. More than this, Socrates seems actually to have taken music lessons of one Connus, a κιθαριστής, along with the young boys. Plato *Euthyd.* 272 C ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐν μόνον φοβοῦμαι μὴ αὐτὸν δνειδος τοῖν ξένοιν περιάψω ὥσπερ Κόννῳ τῷ Μητροβίου τῷ κιθαριστῇ, ὃς ἐμὲ διδάσκει ἔτι καὶ νῦν κιθαρίζειν. ὁρῶντες οὖν οἱ παῖδες οἱ συμφοιτῆται μὲν ἐμοῦ τε καταγελῶσι καὶ τὸν Κόννον καλοῦσι γεροντοδιδάσκαλον. (See also *Menex.* 236 A.) That this is an unusual case is quite evident from the action of the boys. These passages prove clearly that no such "law" as that inserted in Aeschines, in *Tim.* 12 (38), καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν τῶν παίδων ἡλικίαν οὖσιν εἰσιέναι τῶν παίδων ἔνδον ὄντων, ἐὰν μὴ υἱὸς διδασκάλου ἢ ἀδελφὸς ἢ θυγατὶς ἀνὴρ· ἐὰν δὲ τις παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰσῇ, θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω, can have been in force in our period. Cf. Becker-Göll, *Charikles*, II, p. 50. It is interesting to note that the schoolrooms were sometimes used as lecture-halls for visiting sophists. See Plato *Hipp.* I 286 B.

⁴ Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 1025, where Aristophanes is commending his own temperate conduct: . . . οὐδὲ παλαίστρας περικωμάζειν πειρώων, etc.,

which is interpreted by Pax 762

καὶ γὰρ πρότερον πράξας κατὰ νοῦν οὐχὶ παλαίστρας περινοστῶν
παῖδας ἐπέλρων, etc.

even on other than festival days,¹ and older and younger boys were not always separated.² Furthermore, leaving out of account the boys

On the presence of visitors in the palaestras see also Plato *Lysis* 206D, E, sqq.; *Charm.* 154, 155 (cf. 153A).

¹ At the Hermaea the palaestras seem to have been thrown open to visitors: Plato *Lysis* 206D ἂν γὰρ εἰσέλθῃς μετὰ Κτησίππου τοῦδε καὶ καθεζόμενος διαλέγῃ, οἶμαι μὲν καὶ αὐτός σοι πρόσεισι· φιλήκοος γάρ, ὃ Σώκρατες, διαφερόντως ἐστίν, καὶ ἅμα ὥς Ἑρμαῖα ἄγουσιν ἀναμειγμένοι ἐν ταύτῳ εἰσιν οἱ τε νεανίσκοι καὶ οἱ παῖδες. . . . εἰσελθόντες δὲ κατελάβομεν αὐτόθι τεθυκότας τε τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ σχεδὸν τι ἤδη πεποιημένα, ἀστραγαλίζοντάς τε δὴ καὶ κεκοσμημένους ἅπαντας. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ ἔπαιζον ἕξω, οἱ δὲ τινες τοῦ ἀποδυτηρίου ἐν γωνίᾳ ἡρτίαζον ἀστραγάλοις παμπόλλοις ἐκ φορμίσκων τινῶν προαιρούμενοι. τούτους δὲ περιέστασαν ἄλλοι θεωροῦντες. ὦν δὴ καὶ ὁ Λύσις ἦν, καὶ εἰστήκει ἐν τοῖς παισὶ τε καὶ νεανίσκοις ἐστεφανωμένος καὶ τὴν ὄψιν διαφέρων, etc.

² See preceding note. This brings us to one of the vexed questions. The distinction between the *γυμνάσιον* as a place for voluntary exercise, and the *παλαίστρα* for instruction, is now clearly established. (See e.g. Becker-Göll, *Charikles*, II, p. 241 sqq.) And it has been pretty well made out that the boys (*παῖδες*) were not admitted to the former. But the word *γυμνάσιον* seems to have a wider use to denote any *exercise place*. Cf. Antiphon *Tetral. II* (Or. 3) 1, 1 ὁ γὰρ παῖς μου ἐν γυμνασίῳ ἀκοντισθεὶς διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ μεираκίου παραχρήμα ἀπέθανεν. Here there are clearly *παῖδες* and *μεираκία* in the same inclosure at the same time. Cf. 3, 2, 3 τὸ γὰρ μεираκίον οὐχ ὕβρει οὐδὲ ἀκολασίᾳ ἀλλὰ μελετῶν μετὰ τῶν ἡλικίων ἀκοντίζειν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ . . . τοῦ γὰρ παιδὸς ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ ἀκοντίου φορὰν ὑποδραμόντος, καὶ τὸ σῶμα προστήσαντος, (ὁ μὲν ἐκωλύθη) τοῦ σκόπου τυχεῖν, ὁ δὲ . . . ἐβλήθη. So 3, 2, 5 and again 3, 2, 7 οὔτε γὰρ ἀπειρημένον ἀλλὰ προστεταγμένον ἐξεμελέτα οὔτε ἐν γυμναζομένοις ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀκοντιζόντων τάξει ἡκόντιζεν, οὔτε τοῦ σκόπου ἀμαρτῶν . . . τοῦ παιδὸς ἔτυχεν. That the inclosure was a *palaestra* seems clearly indicated (cf. Haase, *Encyclop.*, III, 9, p. 361): 3, 3, 6 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδοτρίβου ὡς ὑποδέχοιτο τοῖς ἀκοντίζουσι τὰ ἀκόντια, etc. There is no reason for rejecting this testimony, as Göll in Becker's *Charikles*, II, p. 244, does; see the passages of Hermann and Grasberger there cited. Moreover, Plato in the *Lysis* certainly indicates the ordinary presence of both *παῖδες* and *νεανίσκοι* in the palaestra. (See note 1 above). The unusual thing at the Ἑρμαῖα was that they were ἀναμειγμένοι ἐν ταύτῳ, instead of being separated into their usual classes. The same word *γυμνάσιον* has also the meaning *exercise* (cf. Petersen, *Das Gymnasium der Griechen*, p. 25) and is often so used in the plural (e.g. Plato *Laches* 181E οὐδενὸς γὰρ τῶν γυμνασίων φαυλότερον, etc.). I find these instances of its use in the *singular* with this meaning: (1) Xen. *Oec.* 10, 11 ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἔφην εἶναι γυμνάσιον καὶ τὸ δεῦσαι καὶ μάξαι καὶ ἰμάτια καὶ στρώματα ἀνασεῖσαι καὶ συνθεῖναι, (2) Xen. *De Re Eq.* 7, 18 ὅταν δὲ ἱκανῶς ἤδη δοκῇ τὸ γυμνάσιον τῷ ἵππῳ ἔχειν, (3) Plato *Laches* 181E καὶ ἅμα προσήκει μάλιστα ἑλευθέρῳ τοῦτό τε τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ ἡ ἱππική. In one

who danced in the choruses¹ or competed in the games² at the great festivals, it was no uncommon thing for a boy to go with his father "to see the show," as a boy goes to the theatre or the circus nowadays. We hear of one father's taking his two sons *εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ πανταχῇ*, and it is mentioned as a very natural thing for him to do.³ Another lad was allowed to go with his fond grandfather to countless parades and festivals, among them the Rural Dionysia, where, he says, *ἐθεωροῦμεν . . . καὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς ἡγομεν . . . πάσας*.⁴ There seems little

passage the meaning of the word is in doubt. In the *Birds* (137) the sensual old Euelpides longs for a city

ὅπου ξυναντῶν μοι ταδί τις μέμψεται
ὥσπερ ἀδικηθεὶς παῖδός ὥραλου πατήρ·
καλῶς γέ μου τὸν υἱόν, ὦ Στιλβωνίδη,
εὐρὼν ἀπιόντ' ἀπὸ γυμνασίου λελουμένον
οὐκ ἔκυσας, οὐ προσεῖπας, οὐ προσηγάγους,
οὐκ ὥρχιπέδισας, ὦν ἐμοὶ πατρικὸς φίλος.

We may interpret *γυμνάσιον* here as "exercise" or "the place of exercise," after the pattern of either set of passages discussed above. That we should take it literally of the *γυμνάσιον* proper seems out of the question. Aristophanes never uses *παῖς* of an older boy; so the lad in question could hardly have been an *ἐφηβος* as has been suggested (Becker-Göll, II, p. 243 sqq.).

¹ See Lysias *de Largit.* 21; Antiphon *de Choreuta*, etc., for examples.

² See Xen. *Symp.* I, 2 for example. Autolycus has just won the *παγκράτιον* at the Panathenaea.

³ Isaeus *de Hered. Astyphili* (9) 30 *εἰς τοίνυν τὰ ἱερὰ ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐμὸς τὸν Ἀστυφίλον παῖδα ἦγε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὥσπερ καὶ ἐμὲ πανταχῇ*. This is to show that no difference was made between the adopted son and the son of the body.

⁴ Isaeus *de Hered. Cironis* (8) 15 *οἷα γὰρ εἰκὸς πάππον υἱέων ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς, οὐδεπώποτε θυσίαν ἄνευ ἡμῶν οὐδεμίαν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' εἴτε μικρὰ εἴτε μεγάλα θύοι, πανταχοῦ παρήμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ συνεθύομεν. καὶ οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρεκαλούμεθα ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Διονύσια εἰς ἀγρὸν ἦγεν ἀεὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου τε ἐθεωροῦμεν καθήμενοι παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς ἡγομεν παρ' ἐκείνου πάσας· τῷ Διὶ τε θύων τῷ Κτησίῳ, etc.* Cf. the passage in the *Birds* (Ar. *Av.* 130 sq.) where a man is invited to bring his children with him to a marriage feast at a neighbor's:

. . . πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦλυμπίου
ὅπως παρέσει μοι καὶ σὺ καὶ τὰ παῖδια
λουσάμενα πρῶς· μέλλω γὰρ ἐστῖαν γάμους,

and the jest in the *Lysistrata* about the eel, "the very dear playmate of the children," invited in to a feast to Hecate—which seems to prove that such "going a-visiting" was not unknown. (Ar. *Lys.* 700.)

doubt that boys were regularly among the spectators of the tragedies and comedies at the Dionysiac festivals.¹ The doubts entertained

¹ It has seemed worth while to bring together some passages which seem to prove beyond question the presence of the boys. (1) Aristophanes is speaking of his own merit as a poet in disdaining the usual devices to catch a laugh (*Nub.* 537):

... ἥ τις πρῶτα μὲν
οὐδὲν ἤλθε βαψαμένη σκυτίον καθειμένον
ἐρυθρὸν ἐξ ἄκρου παχύ, τοῖς παιδίοις ἢ ᾧ γέλως, etc.

Compare with this (2) Eupol. frag. 244 Kock

τὸ δεινῆς ἀκούεις; 'Ηράκλεις, τοῦτ' ἔστι σοι
τὸ σκῶμ' ἀσελγὲς καὶ Μεγαρικὸν καὶ σφόδρα
ψυχρόν. γελῶσιν, ὡς ὄρε'ς, τὰ παιδία.

and again (3) Ar. *Pax* 50

ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν λόγον γε τοῖσι παιδίοις
καὶ τοῖσιν ἀνδρίοισι καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν
καὶ τοῖς ὑπερτάτοισιν ἀνδράσιν φράσω
καὶ τοῖς ὑπερηνόροισιν ἔτι τούτοις μάλα.

and (4) Ar. *Pax* 765

πρὸς ταῦτα χρεῶν εἶναι μετ' ἐμοῦ
καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, etc.

(3) and (4) are more naturally understood of boys present at the play, even though it is barely possible to interpret them otherwise. So (5) Plato, *Laws* 2, 658, supposing a contest instituted of all kinds of entertainments, says εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τὰ πάνυ σμικρὰ κρίνοι παιδία, κρινούσι τὸν τὰ θαύματα ἐπιδεικνύντα· ἡ γάρ; . . . ἐὰν δὲ γ' οἱ μείζους παῖδες, τὸν τὰς κωμῶδίας· τραγωδίαν δὲ αἶ τε πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ νέα μειράκια καὶ σχεδὸν ἴσως τὸ πλῆθος πάντων. This would certainly imply that comedy was something in the range of the boy's experience—as well as tragedy. Similarly the passages already quoted (note 4, p. 95), which represent the comic poet's going the rounds of the palaestras to enjoy the plaudits of the boys, prove that they were no strangers to the play. To these we may add (6) Plato *Apol.* 18 B (Socrates is speaking of his accusers): "It is not Meletus and Anytus that I have most to fear; ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι δεινότεροι, ὧς ἄνδρες, οἱ ὑμῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκ παίδων παραλαμβάνοντες ἔπειθόν τε καὶ κατηγοροῦν ἐμοῦ οὐδὲν ἀληθές, ὡς ἔστι τις Σωκράτης σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, τὰ τε μετέωρα φροντιστὴς καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς ἅπαντα ἀνεζητηκῶς καὶ τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν. οὗτοι, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ ταύτην τὴν φήμην κατασκευάσαντες οἱ δεινοὶ εἰσὶν μου κατήγοροι . . . ἔπειτά εἰσιν οὗτοι οἱ κατήγοροι πολλοὶ καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἤδη κατηγορηκότες, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ λέγοντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐν ᾧ ἂν μάλιστα ἐπιστεύσατε παῖδες ὄντες, ἔνιοι δ' ὑμῶν καὶ μειράκια, ἀτεχνῶς ἐρήμην κατηγοροῦντες ἀπολογουμένοι οὐδενός." There seems to be reference here to plays like the *Clouds*. And the passage is certainly clearer, if we suppose that the boys

by some modern scholars¹ are grounded in scruples unknown to an Athenian audience, and quite fail to take into account the religious character of the dramatic presentations.² There were boys in the company of initiates that went in yearly procession to the Greater Mysteries at Eleusis, — at least Plato seems to imply it,³ — and boys went to watch the proceedings sometimes in the courts⁴ and in the

were there and heard and saw. Plato *Phileb.* 48 and *Rep.* 6, 492 A, while they show that young fellows were very early familiar with the theatre, are perhaps better understood of older νέοι. The passage in the *Apology* (26 E), καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ νέοι ταῦτα παρ' ἐμοῦ μαθάνουσιν, ἃ ἔξεστιν ἐνίοτε, εἰ πάνυ πολλοῦ, δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας πριμμένοις Σωκράτους καταγελᾶν, if it is, as earlier scholars supposed, to be interpreted of plays, is again indefinite as to the age of the νέοι. See, however, Schanz ad. loc. Nor can we derive assistance from Plato *Laws* 936 A, where the comedies are to be supervised and censored by the ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς παιδείας ὅλης τῶν νέων. On the other hand, *Ar. Ran.* 1055

τοῖς μὲν γὰρ παιδαρίοισιν
ἔστι διδάσκαλος ὅστις φράζει, τοῖσιν δ' ἡβῶσι ποιηταί

is not an argument *against* our thesis. Cf. on this matter in general Becker-Göll, *Charikles*, III, p. 187 sqq., and see note 4, p. 97.

¹ Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, Chap. VII, concedes this.

² The sole negative argument is purely presumptive: "the comedies were not decent; the Greeks laid great stress on αἰδώς; hence boys could not have been present at comedies." But this rests on the modern, not the ancient, conception of "decency." The comedies as well as the tragedies were part of the religious ceremonial, and in them, as such, the boys were naturally included. Indeed, the comedies contained few broader jests than satyr-plays, like Euripides' *Cyclops*. Neither is the taste that permitted a girl to take part in a phallic procession like that in the *Acharnians* (247 sqq.) likely to be offended by the presence of the boys at the plays. Such an act was in part divine service, and to accustomed eyes seemed no more strange than the nude bodies of the athletes. On this point see an interesting dissertation by J. H. Richter (*Zur Würdigung der Aristophanischen Komödie*, Berlin, 1845) with some of whose conclusions one may be permitted to differ, while granting his main thesis that the ways of the Greeks were not as our ways of regarding such things.

³ Plato *Euthyd.* 277 D ποιεῖτον δὲ ταῦτόν, ὅπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν Κορυβάντων, ὅταν τὴν θρόνῳσιν ποιῶσιν περὶ τοῦτον ὃν ἂν μέλλωσι τελεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ χορεία τίς ἐστι καὶ παιδιά, εἰ ἄρα καὶ τετέλεσαι. If Euthydemus might participate in the Corybantic mysteries, it is likely that the Eleusinian also were open to him.

⁴ In *Ar. Vesps.* 249, 291, 297, 299, 303, etc., boys are mentioned as accompanying the dicasts in their early morning march to court. The common practice of boys is thrown into relief by the sobriety of the young fellow whom Isaeus pictures (*de Hered. Cleonymi* 1): καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (τοῦ πατρὸς) σωφρόνως ἐπαιδεύομεθα, ὥστ' οὐδὲ ἀκροασόμενοι οὐδέποτε ἤλθομεν εἰς δικαστήριον. (Cf. *Ar. Eq.* 1382,

ecclesia,¹ or mingled in the crowd that collected at any strange happening, much as the small boys of to-day do.² There still lingered in some quarters an old-fashioned propriety that forbade a boy's conversing with a stranger alone,³ or going openly to the courts⁴ and lounging about the market,⁵ but even those who felt such scruples observed rather the letter than the spirit.⁶ We shall not be far wrong in according to the boy of those days pretty much the same freedom—and the same restraints—that the boy of good family feels with us to-day. And just as all the nurses and the tutors in the world are impotent to keep a healthy boy in retirement and cleanly seclusion, as long as there are mud pies to make and baseball to play, and the world, so “full of a number of things,” to investigate, so the pedagogues and the teachers were powerless to shut our little Athenian lad from the currents of life around him.

And what a world it was that he felt himself a part of! Did he realize it, one wonders? Or was it just a matter of course to him—the

Plut. *Demosth.* 5). And more than probably we should cite here Plato *Rep.* 6, 492 A ἢ καὶ σὺ ἡγήῃ, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, διαφθειρομένους τινὰς εἶναι ὑπὸ σοφιστῶν νέους, διαφθειρόντας δὲ τινὰς σοφιστὰς ἰδιωτικούς, ὅτι καὶ ἄξιον λόγου, etc.; 492 B ὅταν, εἶπον, ξυγκαθεζόμενοι ἄθροοι πολλοὶ εἰς ἐκκλησίας ἢ εἰς δικαστήρια ἢ θέατρα . . . ἢ τινὰ ἄλλον κοινὸν πλῆθος ξύλλογον ξὺν πολλῇ θορύβῳ τὰ μὲν ψέγωσι τῶν λεγομένων ἢ πραττομένων, etc. . . ἐν δὲ τῇ τοιούτῳ τὸν νέον, τὸ λεγόμενον, τίνα οἶε καρδίαν ἴσχειν;—although we may possibly refer it to older youth.

¹ Cf. Plato *Rep.* 6, 492 B. (See note 4, p. 99).

² See note 4, p. 99. We have been speaking thus far of extraordinary spectacles and of the leisure classes. The little fellow whose father had a shop or a trade must have spent long hours at play among the wares, while his father's hands were busy at his task, watching the skillful fingers until his own were big enough to imitate. So Plato *Rep.* 5, 467 A; ib. 466 E ὅτι κοινῇ στρατεύονται καὶ πρὸς γὰρ ἄξουσι τῶν παίδων εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ὅσοι ἄδρῳ, ἔν' ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων δημιουργῶν θεῶνται ταῦτα ἂν τελεωθέντας δεήσει δημιουργεῖν . . . (467 A) ἢ οὐκ ἦσθησαι τὰ περὶ τὰς τέχνας οἶον τοὺς τῶν κεραμέων παῖδας ὡς πολὺν χρόνον διακονοῦντες θεωροῦσι πρὶν ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ κεραμεύειν. The reference here, of course, is to a boy regularly apprenticed to his father's trade.

³ Cf. Plato *Charm.* 155 A οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν που εἰ ἐτύγχανε νεώτερος ὢν αἰσχροὺς ἂν ἦν αὐτῷ διαλέγεσθαι ἡμῖν ἐναντίον γε σοῦ, ἐπιτρόπου τε ἅμα καὶ ἀνεψιῦ ὄντος. That this restriction was easily disregarded is evident from Plato *Phaedrus* 255 B; *Symp.* 217 A, etc.

⁴ See Isaeus *de Hered. Cleonymi* 1. (See note 4, p. 99).

⁵ See note 7, p. 90.

⁶ See Xen. *Mem.* 4, 2, 1, where gentle Euthydemus sits in a shop hard by the market (ἡμοποιεῖον) and thus “beats the devil round a stump.” (See note 7, p. 90.)

splendid pageants, and the vast crowds, and the plays in the theatre, and the great games, and the ships, and the merchants, and the strange faces and the stranger garbs at the wharves and in the streets? There must have been a charm in days passed in the shadow of the Acropolis, with the blue sea close at hand, which even a boy could not entirely miss. For he did not wander very far from that shadow. There were no long vacations for him, spent in travel. Young Glaucon could grow to manhood without ever visiting the great silver mines at Laureium, or crossing the frontier into Boeotia.¹ What the boy knew of the outside world was gleaned from the traders of the Peiraeus or the travelers' tales his father told when fresh from some embassy or voyage of profit.² Or he might perhaps, once in his boy's life, journey the long road to Olympia, to fill his eyes with sights enough to keep him awake for many a night after; or be chosen himself to run in the great foot-race of his class. But of course such good luck did not fall to every boy's lot. The rest had to find amusement in their native city until the call to arms, and a campaign in Thrace or Ionia, gave them a chance to "see the world."³

IV

There was one experience that came to the Athenian boy which is happily quite unlike anything that comes in the way of the ordinary boy of to-day. The love of men for boys⁴ was never quite sanctioned by

¹ Xen. *Mem.* 3, 6, 1 sq. (See note 3, p. 82.)

² Most interesting in this connection is Plato's plan (in the *Laws* 12, 951A) to send abroad at stated intervals "men of discretion" to Delphi and Nemea and Olympia and elsewhere to represent the city, and that these ἐλθόντες . . . οἵκαδε διδάξουσι τοὺς νέους, ὅτι δεύτερα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶ νόμιμα τὰ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας.

³ Of course young men of means sometimes traveled for pleasure, or business, or even lived abroad for extended periods, like the young man of Antiphon's Fragment 67 Blass. (ap. Athen. 12, p. 525 B), who moves to Abydos on pleasure bent. That "seeing the world" meant to the young Athenian much what it used to mean to the young Englishman making the "grand tour," we may gather from passages like Ar. *Vesp.* 236; cf. Heracles' adventures with the landlady in Hades (Ar. *Ran.* 549 sq.; cf. also 503 sqq.).

⁴ Παιδεραστία (Plato *Symp.* 181 C) was the name for this relation; the older man was ἐραστής by the rule, or παιδεραστής (Xen. *Anab.* 7, 4, 7), and the younger τὰ παιδικά (a plural with singular force) or ὁ καλός (Plato *Rep.* 5, 474 D; *Lysis* 204 B). Sometimes it was a boy of much his own age — a schoolfellow and playmate that

society, and the laws and the parents united in efforts to check and control it¹: but, sooner or later almost every attractive young fellow had to reckon with it; and to many a lad it was a determining influence for good or evil.² That the romantic instinct which to-day

inspired the lad's affection. E.g. Xen. *Symp.* 4, 23. Critobulus is in love with Cleinias: οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι τούτῳ μὲν παρὰ τὰ ὦτα ἄρτι ἱουλος καθέρπει, Κλεινίᾳ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὀπισθεν ἤδη ἀναβαίνει; οὗτος οὖν συμφοιτῶν εἰς ταὐτὸ διδασκαλεῖον ἐκείνῳ τότε ἰσχυρῶς προσεκαύθη. ἃ δὴ αἰσθόμενος ὁ πατήρ παρέδωκέ μοι αὐτόν, εἰ τι δυναίμην ὠφελῆσαι. Sometimes, and more usually, an older man. Cf. the cases of Socrates and Alcibiades (Plato *Gorg.* 481, etc. passim), of Harmodius and Aristogeiton (Thuc. 6, 54, 2), and the striking example of the young Menon. See Xen. *Anab.* 2, 6, 28 παρὰ Ἀριστίππου μὲν ἔτι ὥραϊος ὢν στρατηγεῖν διεπράξατο τῶν ξένων. Ἀριαίῳ δὲ βαρβάρῳ ὄντι, ὅτι μειρακίοις καλοῖς ἦδετο, οἰκειότατος ἔτι ὥραϊος ὢν ἐγένετο· αὐτὸς δὲ παιδικὰ εἶχε Θαρύπαν, ἀγένειος ὢν γενειῶντα. A curious double relation, paralleled however in the case of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. See Ps.-Plato *Hippiarch.* 229 C. Cf. also Xen. *Hell.* 4, 1, 40; Lysias in *Tisid.* frag. 75; Antiphon frag. 66 Blass (ap. Plut. *Alc.* 3); Xen. *Hell.* 5, 4, 25, etc.

¹ For instance, the Solonian law provided, if we may believe Aeschines, for the closing of the schools except during the hours of daylight—an obvious precaution against the corruption of the boys. (Aesch. in *Tim.* 10, 12.) The same orator also states (13) καὶ μὴ ἐπάναγκες εἶναι τῷ παιδί ἡβήσαντι τρέφειν τὸν πατέρα μηδὲ οἰκισιν παρέχειν ὃς ἂν ἐκμισθωθῇ ἐταερεῖν· ἀποθανόντα δὲ θάπτειν. These provisions are of course directed against the abuses of the relation. Plato would make an offense against a boy a capital crime (*Laws* 9, 874 C). We hear of men like Agesilaus who frowned on loose talking (Xen. *Ages.* 8, 2 μετέιχε μὲν ἥκιστα παιδικῶν λόγων). The very institution of the παιδαγωγός is proof enough of the attitude of parents toward παιδεραστία. Cf. Plato *Symp.* 183 C, D ἐπειδὴν δὲ παιδαγωγοὺς ἐπιστήσαντες οἱ πατέρες τοῖς ἐρωμένοις μὴ ἐῷσι διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς ἐρασταῖς καὶ τῷ παιδαγωγῷ ταῦτα προστεταγμένα ἦ, ἡλικιώται δὲ καὶ ἐταῖροι ὀνειδίζουσιν, ἂν τι ὁρῶσι τοιοῦτον γιγνόμενον, καὶ τοὺς ὀνειδίζοντας αὐτοὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μὴ διακωλύσι μηδὲ λοιδορῶσιν ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντας, εἰς δὲ ταῦτά τις αὐτὸν βλέψας ἡγήσεται ἂν πάλιν αἰσχιστον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐνθάδε νομίζεσθαι. τὸ δὲ οἶμαι ὧδ' ἔχει· οὐχ ἀπλοῦν ἐστίν, ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐλέχθη, οὔτε καλὸν εἶναι αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ οὔτε αἰσχρὸν, ἀλλὰ καλῶς μὲν πραττόμενον καλόν, αἰσχρῶς δὲ αἰσχρὸν. αἰσχρῶς μὲν οὖν ἐστι πονηρῷ τε καὶ πονηρῶς χαρίζεσθαι, καλῶς δὲ χρηστῷ τε καὶ καλῶς. πονηρὸς δ' ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐραστὴς ὁ πάνδημος, ὁ τοῦ σώματος μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐρών. On the παιδαγωγός and his function, see note 2, p. 89; and on the attitude of public opinion toward the ἐραστής, see note 4, p. 101 (Xen. *Symp.* 4, 23); note 1, p. 91; and add, on the ridicule of companions, Plato *Phaedrus* 255 A . . . ἂν ἄρα καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ὑπὸ ξυμφοιτητῶν ἢ τινων ἄλλων διαβεβλημένος ἦ, λεγόντων ὡς αἰσχρὸν ἐρώντι πλησιάζειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπωθῇ τὸν ἐρώντα, etc.

² See Plato *Symp.* 178 C οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὅτι μείζον ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν εὐθὺς νέφοντι ἢ ἐραστὴς χρηστὸς καὶ ἐραστῇ παιδικά. (D) φημὶ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ἄνδρα ὅστις ἐρᾷ, εἰ τι αἰσχρὸν ποιῶν κατάδηλος γίγνεται ἢ πάσχων ὑπὸ τοῦ δι' ἀνανδρίαν μὴ ἀμυνόμενος,

expresses itself in hero-worship, or busies itself in boy and girl loves, found its satisfaction in the παιδεραστία is undoubted. We have the blushes and the reticence,¹ the verses and the serenades,² the following about,³ the blindness to the loved one's failings,⁴ the eagerness

οὐτ' ἂν ὑπὸ πατρὸς ὀφθέντα οὕτως ἀλγῆσαι οὔτε ὑπὸ ἐταίρων οὔτε ὑπ' ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ὡς ὑπὸ παιδικῶν. ταῦτ' οὖν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν ἐρώμενον ὁρῶμεν, ὅτι διαφερόντως τοὺς ἐραστὰς αἰσχύνεται, ὅταν ὀφθῇ ἐν αἰσχρῶ τινι ὧν, etc. (Cf. 183C, D; note 1, p. 102.)

¹ Plato *Lysis* 204B Πρῶτον ἡδέως ἀκούσαιμ' ἂν, ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ εἰσεμι καὶ τίς ὁ καλός; — "Ἄλλος, ἔφη, ἄλλω ἡμῶν δοκεῖ, ὦ Σώκρατες. — Σοὶ δὲ δὴ τίς, ὦ Ἰππόθαλες; τοῦτό μοι εἶπέ. καὶ δὲ ἐρωτηθεὶς ἡρυθράσεν. καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον· "ὦ παῖ Ἰερωνύμου Ἰππόθαλες, τοῦτο μὲν μηκέτι εἴπῃς, εἴτε ἐρᾷς του εἴτε μή· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἐρᾷς ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρρω ἤδη εἰ πορευόμενος (just our colloquial "pretty far gone!") τοῦ ἐρωτος. (C) καὶ δὲ ἀκούσας πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡρυθράσεν.

² Plato *Lysis* 204C (continuing) ὁ οὖν Κτήσιππος, Ἀστεῖόν γε, ἧ δ' ὅς, ὅτι ἐρυθρίᾳς, ὦ Ἰππόθαλες, καὶ ὁκνεῖς εἰπεῖν Σωκράτει τοῦνομα· ἐὰν δ' οὗτος καὶ σμικρὸν χρόνον συνδιατρίψῃ σοι, παραταθήσεται ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀκούων θαμὰ λέγοντος. ἡμῶν γοῦν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐκκεκώφωκε τὰ ὦτα καὶ ἐμπέπληκε Λύσιδος· ἂν μὲν δὴ καὶ ὑποπλή, εὐμάρεια ἡμῖν ἐστίν καὶ ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγρομένοις Λύσιδος οἰεσθαι τοῦνομα ἀκούειν. καὶ ἂ μὲν καταλογάδην διηγείται, δεινὰ ὄντα, οὐ πάντι δεινὰ ἐστίν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ ποιήματα ἡμῶν ἐπιχειρήσῃ καταπλεῖν καὶ συγγράμματα. καὶ ὅ ἐστιν τούτων δεινότερον, ὅτι καὶ ᾄδει εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ φωνῇ θαυμασίᾳ, ἣν ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἀκούοντας ἀνέχεσθαι. νῦν δὲ ἐρωτώμενος ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐρυθρίᾳ. Cf. *Rep.* 2, 368A οὐ κακῶς εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὦ παῖδες ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρός, τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐλεγεῖων ἐποίησεν ὁ Γλαῦκωνος ἐραστής, εὐδοκίμησαντος περὶ τὴν Μεγαροῦ μάχην, etc.

³ Plato *Euthyd.* 273A οὕτω τούτῳ δὴ ἢ τρεῖς δρόμους περιεληλυθότε ἦσθην, καὶ εἰσέρχεται Κλεινίας ὃν σὺ φῆς πολὺ ἐπιδεδωκέναι, ἀληθῆ λέγων· ὅπισθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐρασταὶ πάντι πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Κτήσιππος νεανίσκος τις Παιανιεύς, μάλα καλὸς τε κάγαθος τὴν φύσιν, ὅσον μὴ ὑβριστὴς διὰ τὸ νέος εἶναι. So Plato *Phaedrus* 232A ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐρῶντας πολλοὺς ἀνάγκη πυθέσθαι καὶ ἰδεῖν ἀκολουθοῦντας τοῖς ἐρωμένοις καὶ ἔργον τοῦτο ποιοῦμένους, ὥστε ὅταν ὀφθῶσι διαλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλοις, τότε αὐτοὺς οἶονται ἢ γεγενημένης ἢ μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας συνέειναι, and Plato *Charm.* 154A καὶ ὁ Κριτίας ἀποβλέψας πρὸς τὴν θύραν, ἰδὼν τινὰς νεανίσκους εἰσιόντας καὶ λοιδορουμένους ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἄλλον ὄχλον ὅπισθεν ἐπόμενον, Περὶ μὲν τῶν καλῶν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, αὐτίκα μοι δοκεῖς εἰσεσθαι· οὗτοι γὰρ τυγχάνουσιν οἱ εἰσιόντες πρόδρομοί τε καὶ ἐρασταὶ ὄντες τοῦ δοκοῦντος καλλίστου εἶναι τὰ γε δὴ νῦν· φαίνεται δὲ μοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγγὺς ἦδη πού εἶναι προσίων, etc.

⁴ Plato *Rep.* 5, 474D ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐρωτικῷ οὐ πρόπει ἀμνημονεῖν ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἐν ὥρᾳ τὸν φιλόπαιδα καὶ ἐρωτικὸν ἀμῇ γέ πῃ δάκνουσί τε καὶ κινουσί, δοκοῦντες ἀξιοὶ εἶναι ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ τοῦ ἀσπάζεσθαι. ἢ οὐχ οὕτω ποιεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς καλοὺς; ὁ μὲν, ὅτι σιμός, ἐπὶ χάρις κληθεὶς ἐπαινεθήσεται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, τοῦ δὲ τὸ γρυπὸν βασιλικόν φατε εἶναι, τὸν δὲ δὴ διὰ μέσου τούτων ἐμμετρώατα ἔχειν, μέλανας δὲ ἀνδρικοὺς ἰδεῖν, λευκοὺς δὲ θεῶν παῖδας εἶναι· μελιχλῆρους δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα οἶει τινὸς ἄλλου ποίημα εἶναι ἢ ἐραστοῦ ὑποκοριζομένου τε καὶ εὐχερῶς φέροντος τὴν ὠρότητα, ἐὰν ἐπὶ ὥρᾳ ᾗ; καὶ ἐν λόγῳ πάσας προφάσεις

to sing the beloved's praises even in unwilling ears,¹ which all the world recognizes as symptoms of the tender passion. The ἐραστής treasured any belonging of his dear one with all the fervor and sacredness with which a modern lover guards a glove or a kerchief associated with the lady of his heart.² He lavished gifts like the lover of to-day,³ and was continually a prey to love's jealousies⁴; while, for his part, a beautiful boy was as capricious with his favors as the most spoiled of modern coquettes could be.⁵

Plato in his *Symposium*, which is little more than a beautiful defense of this love between men, distinguishes two orders of love: — the love

προφασίζεσθέ τε καὶ πάσας φωνὰς ἀφίετε, ὥστε μηδένα ἀποβάλλειν τῶν ἀνθούτων ἐν ὥρῃ. Cf. the very similar passage in Lucretius 4, 1153 sqq.

¹ See Plato *Lysis* 204 C. (Note 2, p. 103.)

² Plato *Phaedo* 73 D οὐκοῦν οἶσθα ὅτι οἱ ἐρασταί, ὅταν ἴδωσιν λύραν ἢ ἱμάτιον ἢ ἄλλο τι οἷς τὰ παιδικὰ αὐτῶν εἶωθε χρῆσθαι, πάσχουσι τοῦτο· ἐγνωσάν τε τὴν λύραν καὶ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ ἔλαβον τὸ εἶδος τοῦ παιδός, οὗ ἦν ἡ λύρα;

³ Too often, it is to be feared, in the nature of a bribe (cf. Ar. *Av.* 705 sqq.), sometimes of actual money—though this must have been very rare among ἐλεύθεροι. Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 148; Lysias in *Simon*. (3) 22; Ar. *Plut.* 153 sqq. More usual was the doing of services for the beloved. Cf. the lover who tries to get his favorite into the Olympic junior race—presumably when he is over age. (Xen. *Hell.* 4, 1, 40 ἐρασθέντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Εὐάλκου υἱέος Ἀθηναίου πάντ' ἐποίησεν ὅπως ἂν δι' ἐκείνον ἐγκριθεῖται τὸ στάδιον ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, μέγιστος ὢν τῶν παίδων.)

⁴ On such jealousies compare Lysias' oration *Against Simon*, especially 3, 5 ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐπεθυμήσαμεν, ὦ βουλὴ, Θεοδότου, Πλαταϊκοῦ μειρακίου, and the wrangling resulting from this attachment. See also the comic picture in the *Charmides* of the men jostling one another on the bench to make room for the beautiful favorite, 155 C: ἕκαστος γὰρ ἡμῶν, says Socrates, τῶν καθημένων ξυγχωρῶν τὸν πλησίον ὥθει σπουδῇ ἵνα παρ' αὐτῷ καθέξοιτο, ἕως τῶν ἐπ' ἐσχάτῃ καθημένων τὸν μὲν ἀνεστήσαμεν, τὸν δὲ πλάγιον κατεβάλομεν. ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν μεταξὺ ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Κριτίου ἐκαθέζετο. Cf. also 154 A, the entrance of the lovers (note 3, p. 103). Indeed it is to such causes that the author of the *Hippiarchus* attributes the overthrow of the Peisistratidae: 229 C ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν Ἀρμόδιον γεγενῆσθαι παιδικὰ τοῦ Ἀριστογέιτονος καὶ πεπαιδευθῆναι ὑπ' ἐκείνου . . . ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀρμόδιον τυγχάνειν ἐρῶντά τινος τῶν νέων τε καὶ καλῶν καὶ γενναίων τῶν τότε· καὶ λέγουσι τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ μέμνημαι. τὸν οὖν νεανίσκον τοῦτον τέως μὲν θαυμάζειν τὸν τε Ἀρμόδιον καὶ τὸν Ἀριστογέιτονα ὡς σοφοὺς, ἔπειτα συγγενόμενον τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ καταφρονῆσαι ἐκείνων, etc. (Cf. Thuc. 6, 54, 2.)

⁵ See the passage from the *Hippiarchus* in the preceding note; and compare young Alcibiades in Plato *Alc. I* 103 B σχεδὸν οὖν κατανεόηκα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ σκοπούμενος ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἐραστὰς ἔσχες· πολλῶν γὰρ γενομένων καὶ μεγαλοφρόνων οὐδεὶς δὲ οὐκ ὑπερβληθεὶς τῷ φρονήματι ὑπὸ σοῦ πέφευγεν.

of the *senses*, whose patron goddess is Aphrodite Pandemos, and the love of the *soul*, which Uranian Aphrodite watches over.¹ And he claims παιδεραστία for the kingdom of the latter.² We cannot deny that, as he refines it,³ the relation approaches that perfect friendship which has been the dream of so many philosophers. Socrates himself is the type of the best ἐραστής. To be given the opportunity of intimate association with such a man must have indeed marked an epoch in any boy's life. Plato's story of Socrates' love for Alcibiades,⁴ and the way in which the philosopher's calm, healthy personality and his moral earnestness won little by little upon the lad's light-hearted and self-indulgent nature and wakened in his heart the slumbering nobility which his arrogance and willfulness had well-nigh destroyed, whatever its value as history, is a parable of what an ἐραστής χρηστός might do for the boy whom he loved. About all the care and attention many a boy's education received, if we may credit Plato,⁵ was due to his lover's interest in getting the best for him. Socrates is able to tell us, better almost than Alcibiades himself, of the course of the lad's daily life and his teachers and comrades and

¹ Plato *Symp.* 180D πάντες γὰρ ἴσμεν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνευ Ἐρωτος Ἀφροδίτη. μιᾶς μὲν οὖν οὔσης εἰς ἂν ᾗν Ἐρως· ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ δύο ἐστὶν, δύο ἀνάγκη καὶ Ἐρωτε εἶναι. πῶς δ' οὐ δύο τῷ θεῷ; ἡ μὲν γέ που πρεσβυτέρα καὶ ἀμύτωρ Οὐρανοῦ θυγάτηρ, ἣν δὴ καὶ οὐρανίαν ἐπονομάζομεν· ἡ δὲ νεωτέρα Διὸς καὶ Διώνης ἣν δὴ πάνδημον καλοῦμεν. ἀναγκαῖον δὴ καὶ Ἐρωτα τὸν μὲν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ συνεργὸν πάνδημον ὀρθῶς καλεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ οὐράνιον. Cf. also 183C, D (see note 1, p. 102); 181B, C, etc.

² Plato *Symp.* 181C ὁ δὲ τῆς οὐρανίας (sc. Ἐρως) πρῶτον μὲν οὐ μετεχούσης θήλεος ἀλλ' ἄρρενος μόνον· καὶ ἔστιν οὗτος ὁ τῶν παίδων ἔρως. Cf. 191E.

³ See note 2, p. 102, and add Plato *Symp.* 181C (continuing the above passage) ἔπειτα πρεσβυτέρας, ὕβρεως ἀμολίου, ὅθεν δὴ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρρεν τρέπονται οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔρωτος ἔπιπνοι, τὸ φύσει ἐρρωμενέστερον καὶ νοῦν μᾶλλον ἔχον ἀγαπῶντες. καὶ τις ἂν γνῶναι καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ παιδεραστίᾳ τοὺς εἰλικρινῶς ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔρωτος ὠρμημένους. (D) οὐ γὰρ ἐρώσι παίδων, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν ἡδὴ ἀρχονται νοῦν ἴσχειν· τοῦτο δὲ πλησιάζει τῷ γενεϊάσκειν. Cf. 181E; *Rep.* 3, 403A, B.

⁴ See Plato *Alc.* I 103A, 135D, E, etc.; *Symp.* 213C sqq., 215E, 216B sqq.

⁵ Plato *Alc.* I 122B τῆς δὲ σῆς . . . παιδείας, ἣ ἄλλου ὁποιοῦν Ἀθηναίων, ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, οὐδενὶ μέλει, εἰ μὴ εἴ τις ἐραστής σου τυγχάνει ὦν. So Harmodius and Aristogeiton (see note 4, p. 104, the passage from the *Hērpharchus* 229C). To be compared is the beautiful description of Heracles' love for Hylas in Theocritus 13, 14–15 and his exertions

ὥς αὐτῷ κατὰ θυμὸν ὁ παῖς πεπονάμενος εἶη,
αὐτῷ δ' εὖ ἔλκων ἐς ἀλαθινὸν ἄνδρ' ἀποβαλεῖ.

the lessons he learned.¹ "Many a time at school, in your games, have I heard you crying, 'Tisn't fair!' and calling out in no uncertain voice that one lad and another you were playing with was a 'wicked boy' and a 'cheater' and had 'cheated' you! Surely," says Socrates, with his gentle irony, "Surely you can tell me now what Justice is, if even as a little boy you were so very certain!"² and again, more explicitly, in the same dialogue, "It isn't likely you've learned anything without my knowledge, for I've watched your goings out and your comings in by day and night."³ And so, perhaps, many another lad grew to manhood watched over and guided by maturer wisdom and looking up with admiration and respect to his older friend.

But the relations of ordinary lovers were not on this high plane. The Athenian was peculiarly susceptible to the influence of the senses. Even the temperate and high-minded Socrates requires all his iron will at times to banish unholy desires, as he confesses himself, with humility.⁴ To too many *erastae* the paramount interest was the body and not the soul of the boys for whose favor they sued.⁵ For such a relation even Plato has nothing to say,⁶ though he admits its prevalence, at least

¹ Plato *Alc.* I 110B; 106E.

² Plato *Alc.* I 110B πολλάκις σοῦ ἐν διδασκάλων ἤκουον παιδὸς ὄντος καὶ ἄλλοθι καὶ ὅποτε ἀστραγαλίζοις ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ παιδιὰν παίζοις, οὐχ ὡς ἀποροῦντος περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἀδίκων, ἀλλὰ μάλα μέγα καὶ θαρραλέως λέγοντος περὶ ὅτου τύχοις τῶν παίδων, ὡς πονηρός τε καὶ ἀδικος εἴη καὶ ὡς ἀδικοῦ· ἢ οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγω;

³ Plato *Alc.* I 106E. (See note 1, p. 82). On the nobler side of the παιδεραστία see M. Wohlrab in *Neue Jahrbücher f. Philologie*, 1879, IX, pp. 673-684.

⁴ Plato *Charm.* 155D (of Charmides) εἰδὼν τε τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἱματίου καὶ ἐφλεγόμεν καὶ οὐκέτ' ἐν ἔμμαντοῦ ἦν καὶ ἐνόμισα σοφώτατον εἶναι τὸν Κυδῖαν τὰ ἐρωτικά, ὃς εἶπεν ἐπὶ καλοῦ λέγων παιδός, ἅλλω ὑποτιθέμενος, εὐλαβεῖσθαι μὴ κατέναντα λέοντος νεβρὸν ἐλθόντα μοῖραν αἰρεῖσθαι κρεῶν· αὐτὸς γάρ μοι ἐδόκουν ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου θρέμματος ἐαλωκέναι, etc.

⁵ In the following passages it is a sensual relation that is referred to: *Ar. Ran.* 148; *Vesp.* 1025, 1068; *Nub.* 1073 etc.; *Pax* 11, 762; *Plut.* 153; *Av.* 705; *Eq.* 1382 sqq.; Plato *Phaedrus* 227C, 237B, 255A, B; *Symp.* 217A; *Rep.* 9, 574C; *Laws* 1, 636B; 8, 836C, 840A; Ps.-Plato *Hipparch.* 229C (?); *Thuc.* 1, 132, 5; 6, 54, 2 (?); *Xen. Anab.* 2, 6, 28; *Ages.* 8, 2; *Mem.* 1, 3, 8; *Hell.* 4, 1, 40; 4, 8, 39; 5, 3, 20; 5, 4, 25; 6, 4, 37; *Hiero* 1, 31, 35, 36, 29; *Eurip. Cyclops* 503 sqq.; *Eupolis frag.* 100, 233, 337 Kock; *Cratin. frag.* 152 Kock; *Crates frag.* 1 Kock; *Teleclid. frag.* 49 Kock; *Aesch. in Tim.* 13 (40); *Antiphon frag.* 66 Blass; *Lysias in Simon.* (3) 5, 6, 10, 22; *pro Callia* (4) 7; *in Alc.* I (14) 27; *in Tisid.* frag. 75.

⁶ Plato *Laws* 8, 836C εἰ γάρ τις ἀκολουθῶν τῇ φύσει θήσοι τὸν πρὸς Λαίου νόμον, λέγων ὡς ὀρθῶς εἶχε τὸ τῶν ἀρρένων καὶ νέων μὴ κοινωνεῖν καθάπερ θηλειῶν πρὸς μεῖξιν

outside of Athens. It is easy of course to overdraw the part which abuse of the relation played in the community life ; just as it is idle to deny that its influence was on the whole bad. And yet those who threw away all restraint must have been in the minority. In this period of relaxed control and rebellion against authority, excesses of all kinds were easier¹ ; and it is the excesses that get into the records.² The standard of public opinion was still, however, as we have seen, reasonably high. And one can hardly read the literature without realizing that, despite the wild oats of the few, the normal young Athenian was sane and healthy-minded.³

V

Nowhere is the pressure of material circumstances more strongly felt than in the matter of education.⁴ If the state prescribed elementary instruction for all boys, as we are told,⁵ the state provided no means of instruction, and indeed, as we have seen, took no care to see that its recommendations were followed — save to relieve a boy who had not been taught a trade of all responsibility for his parents' support in their

ἀφροδισίων . . . τάχ' ἂν χρῶτο πιθανῶ λόγῳ, (εἰ) καὶ ταῖς ὑμετέραις πόλεσιν οὐδαμῶς ξυμφωνοῖ. (Cf. I, 636 B.)

¹ See Ps.-Andoc. in *Alc.* 22, cf. 39.

² See the passages in note 5, p. 82, and note 1, p. 92.

³ See note 1, p. 102, and cf. Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, VIII, p. 371 (in note 4, p. 91). So Becker-Göll II, p. 84, who contrasts the young man of this period favorably with the youth of the New Comedy.

⁴ See Becker-Göll, *Charikles*, II, p. 72 sqq. The Greeks frankly recognized this disparity. So Plato *Apol.* 23 C (of Socrates' hearers) πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ νέοι μοι ἐπακολουθοῦντες, οἷς μάλιστα σχολή ἐστιν, οἱ τῶν πλουσιωτάτων, etc. Isocr. *Areop.* (7) 44 ἅπαντας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀγειν διατριβὰς οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἦν, ἀνωμάλως τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον ἔχοντας. (Of the older boys) ὥς δὲ πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν ἤρμοττεν, οὕτως ἐκάστοις προσέταττον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὑποδεέστερον πράττοντας ἐπὶ τὰς γεωργίας καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας ἔτρεπον, εἰδότες τὰς ἀπορίας μὲν διὰ τὰς ἀργίας γιγνομένας, τὰς δὲ κακουργίας διὰ τὰς ἀπορίας . . . (45) τοὺς δὲ βίον ἱκανὸν κεκτημένους περὶ τε τὴν ἱππικὴν καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἠνάγκασαν διατρίβειν. Cf. Plato *Protag.* 326 C (speaking of schools and teachers) καὶ ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν οἱ μάλιστα δυνάμενοι· μάλιστα δὲ δύνανται οἱ πλουσιώτατοι· καὶ οἱ τούτων υἱεῖς, πρῶταίτατα εἰς διδασκάλων τῆς ἡλικίας ἀρξάμενοι φοιτᾶν, ὀψιαίτατα ἀπαλλάττονται. Add Lysias *pro Polystrato* (20) 11. (See note 3, p. 80).

⁵ Plato *Crito* 50 D (see note 3, p. 80) ; Aesch. in *Tim.* 7 (33) ; Isocr. *Areop.* (7) 37 sqq.

old age.¹ Even to-day, with our free schools and compulsory education and state and city officials to carry it into effect, it is a constant struggle for the poor to keep their children at school. And we need not be surprised if at Athens many a boy found his school-days cut short by hard necessity, and more than one little gamin like Agoracritus in the *Knights* got no schooling at all but what he could pick up about the streets.² There must have been other lads besides the one Lysias pictures who kept their father's flocks in the country while the wealthier brothers were going to school in the city.³ But school was the portion of most Athenian boys. The child of wealthy parents, however, could be more leisurely about his studies.⁴ The best of teachers were at his command; the "old families" then, as now, felt a pride in giving their children the choicest opportunities.⁵

At just what age the boy began his γράμματα, and how they divided the time with the μουσική and γυμναστική of the established curriculum, it is hard to tell — and does not immediately concern us.⁶ Plato's figures can hardly be "official."⁷ But, in spite of the long day,⁸ the going to school was not all hard work; there were periods of recess, when there was time for plenty of plays and games⁹; there was the procession

¹ Plut. *Sol.* 22 νῆν τρέφειν τὸν πατέρα μὴ διδασκόμενον τέχνην ἐπάναγκες μὴ εἶναι.

² One need hardly cite passages for so obvious a truth. We have beside the picture of Agoracritus (e.g. 188, cf. 636) a companion piece in Ps.-Demosthenes (*in Nicostr.* 16 — the "παιδάριον ἀστὸν," ready to turn a penny in devious ways). Add also Cratin. frag. 121 ἀλλὰ μὰ Δι' οὐκ οἶδ' ἔγωγε γράμματ' οὐδ' ἐπίσταμαι. And see Becker-Göll, II, p. 55.

³ Lysias *pro Polystrato* (20) 11. (See note 3, p. 80).

⁴ See note 4, p. 107.

⁵ Cf. e.g. Themistocles (Plato *Meno* 93 D); Aristides (ib. 94 E); Pericles (ib. 94 B; cf. *Protag.* 319 E); Thucydides (*Meno* 94 C), etc.

⁶ See Becker-Göll, II, p. 62 sqq.; p. 51 sqq.; Grasberger, p. 291; p. 221 sqq.

⁷ Plato *Laws* 7, 810 A: γράμματα begun at 10; λύρα at 13; γυμναστική at 16. Cf. *Axiochus* p. 366, where 7 is given as the age of beginning school. Probably the Athenians were no more regular about starting their boys at school than we are.

⁸ Cf. Aesch. *in Tim.* 10 (35); see also Becker-Göll, II, p. 61; Plato *Laws* 7, 808 ἡμέρας δὲ ὀρθροῦ τε ἐπανιόντων παῖδας μὲν πρὸς διδασκάλους που τρέπεσθαι χρεών. So Grasberger, p. 291.

⁹ See Plato *Alc. I* 110 B; and cf. the scenes in the palaestrae, Plato *Charm.* 154 sqq.; *Lysis* 206 D sqq. What the games were that the boys loved in those days, Grasberger has pretty thoroughly discussed (l.c.). "Jack-stones" or "dice" (ἀστράγαλοι) are mentioned far more frequently than anything else in our period.

from school to school to break the monotony¹; and there were the countless holidays to vary the daily routine.² But it was hard enough, while the work was in progress; teachers were stern and entered little into the difficulties and peculiar problems of their pupils, as indeed was to be expected of men held in contempt and half beside themselves sometimes with their struggles to make ends meet.³ There was small love lost between teacher and pupil.⁴ We may be sure that the boy sat on his bench many a time, longing for Heracles' might to do as he did to his bothersome tutor!⁵ At home, too, things were sometimes just as bad⁶; but we have glimpses enough of fond and indulgent fathers, who made companions of their boys, to make us certain that an ordinarily

(Ar. *Vesp.* 293; frag. 366 Kock; Cratin. frag. 165 Kock; Pherecr. frag. 43; Teleclid. frag. 1 line 14 Kock; Hermipp. frag. 34 Kock; Plato *Lysis* 206 E; *Alc. I* 110 B.) The boys in the *παλαίστρα* are playing at "odd and even" (*ἀρτιασμός*, Grasberger, p. 143), some of them (Plato *Lysis* 206 E). Other children's games mentioned are *κυνητινδα*, a kissing game (?) (Crates frag. 23 Kock; Grasberger, p. 136); games of ball (Ar. frag. 139; Grasberger, p. 84 sqq.); *δοτρακινδα* (Plato Com. frag. 153 Kock; Grasberger, p. 57); *φαινινδα* (Antiphan. frag. 234, 283 Kock; Grasberger, p. 90); *ποσινδα* (Xen. *Hipparch.* 5, 10); *ἔξεχ' ὦ φίλ' ἦλιε* (Ar. frag. 389 Kock; Grasberger, p. 131).

¹ Even if the same man did teach *γράμματα* and *μουσική*, as might at times have been the case, the *παιδοτρίβης* was always a professional, and his establishment was a separate one.

² See Becker-Göll, II, p. 62; Aesch. in *Tim.* 10; Plato *Lysis* 206 E, and cf. Theophrast. *Char.* 22, a passage which is probably applicable to our earlier period.

³ See Becker-Göll, II, p. 57 sqq. There must certainly have been worthy men in the profession, however—especially at the time we are discussing. Cf. Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, VIII, p. 349 sqq.

⁴ The common feeling is well pictured in Xenophon, who says of Clearchus (*Anab.* 2, 6, 12) τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ὤμος. ὥστε διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ὥσπερ παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον. Cf. Becker-Göll, II, p. 58.

⁵ On the sad fate of Linus, see Preller-Prew, *Griech. Mythol.*³, II, p. 179. Cf. Roscher, *Lexicon*, II, 2058; and on teachers in general see B. Arnold, *De Athen. saec. a. Chr. n. quinti praeceptoribus*, Dresden, 1871.

⁶ Cf. Plato *Rep.* 8, 548 B ὥσπερ παῖδες πατέρα τὸν νόμον ἀποδιδράσκοντες, οὐχ ὑπὸ πέλθους ἀλλ' ὑπὸ βίας πεπαιδευμένοι, etc.; Ar. *Plut.* 576

... σκέψασθαι δ' ἔστι μάλιστα
ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων· τοὺς γὰρ πατέρας φεύγουσι φρονοῦντας ἀριστα
αὐτοῖς.

and see note 2, p. 90.

well-behaved little boy must have had a pretty good time after all.¹ We hear of one lad's running away from home — but that was the young reprobate Alcibiades, whose notions of a good time were rather radical.²

So the days slipped by till the time came when the boy had finished the traditional course (τὴν ἀρχαίαν παιδείαν Ar. *Nub.* 961; or, as Plato (*Rep.* 2, 376E) calls it, τὴν ὑπὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἡρῆμένην). He could read and write³ and cipher a little,⁴ and play the lyre a bit,⁵ and perhaps

¹ See Eurip. frag. 319 line 6 Nauck³ καὶ συννεάξων ἡδὺ παῖς νέφ πατρί, with the picture of the young Ion in the play of that name. Cf. Autolycus in Xenophon's *Symposium* (3, 12): οὗτός γε μήν, ἔφη τις, δῆλον ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ νικηφόρος εἶναι (sc. μέγα φρονεῖ). καὶ ὁ Αὐτόλυκος ἀνευθυριάσας εἶπε, Μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγε. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντες ἡσθέντες ὅτι ἤκουσαν αὐτοῦ φωνήσαντος προσέβλεψαν, ἥρετό τις αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μήν, ὦ Αὐτόλυκε; ὁ δ' εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῷ πατρί. καὶ ἅμα ἐνεκλίθη αὐτῷ. For indulgence not so appreciated see the picture of the saucy little boys in the *Wasps* (see note 7, p. 120); and of Pheidippides, in the *Clouds* (see especially 878 sqq.; 1380 sqq.); add the picture of the proud fathers in Ar. *Av.* 1440 sqq.

² Antiphon ap. Plut. *Alc.* 3 (frag. 66 Blass) ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀντιφῶντος λοιδορίαις γέγραπται ὅτι παῖς ὢν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπέδρα πρὸς Δημοκράτη τινὰ τῶν ἐραστῶν· βουλομένου δ' αὐτὸν ἀποκηρύττειν Ἀρίφρονος Περικλῆς οὐκ εἶασεν, εἰπὼν, εἰ μὲν τέθνηκεν, ἡμέρα μὶδ' διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα φανείσθαι πρότερον, εἰ δὲ σῶς ἐστιν, ἄσωστον αὐτῷ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ἔσσεσθαι· καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἀκολουθούντων τινὰ κτείνειεν ἐν τῇ Σιβυρτίου παλαίστρᾳ ξύλῳ πατάξας. ἀλλὰ τοῦτοίς μὲν οὐκ ἄξιον ἴσως πιστεῦναι, ἃ γε λοιδορεῖσθαι τις αὐτῷ δὲ ἔχθραν ὁμολογῶν εἶπεν.

³ γράφειν καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκειν. Plato *Charm.* 159C; *Laws* 7, 810A etc. See Becker-Göll, *Charikles*, II, p. 64 sqq.

⁴ ἀριθμεῖν, λογιζεσθαι. Plato *Rep.* 7, 522E; *Theaet.* 145C, D; *Hipp.* I 285C; *Protag.* 318E; *Rep.* 7, 536D; 6, 510C; *Laws* 5, 747B; 7, 817E; 7, 819B sq.; Xen. *Mem.* 4, 7, 8; Isocr. (II) 23. Just when this became a formal part of the curriculum is uncertain, but the boy of our period seems to have had some instruction in it, even before the later stage of his studies. Cf. in particular Plato *Protag.* 318E οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι (sc. σοφισταί) λωβῶνται τοὺς νέους . . . τὰς γὰρ τέχνας αὐτοὺς πεφευγότας ἄκοντας πάλιν αὖ ἄγοντες ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τέχνας, λογισμούς τε καὶ ἀστρονομίαν καὶ γεωμετρίαν καὶ μουσικὴν διδάσκοντες. From Xenophon's language (*Mem.* 4, 7, 8 ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ λογισμοὺς μαθηθῆναι) it would seem to have been a new thing in Socrates' time. And, aside from the practical testimony of recorded calculations (like those of the inscriptions, which are notoriously "rough and ready"), Plato's stress on arithmetic (see passages cited above) may well have been dictated by a consciousness of his countrymen's deficiencies. Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 656, where the old Philocleon has to reckon with counters (ψῆφοι), or on his fingers (ἀπὸ χειρός). See Becker-Göll, II, p. 67 sq.

⁵ κιθαρίζειν. Plato *Enthyd.* 272C (cf. Ar. *Eq.* 985); Plato *Rep.* 3, 399C, D τριγώνων ἄρα καὶ πεντάγωνων καὶ πάντων ὀργάνων ὅσα πολύχορδα καὶ πολυαρμόνια δημιουργοὺς οὐ

the flute¹; he had stored his mind with many a fine passage of the poets²; and he had kept himself healthy,³ and had learned to run and jump and throw the javelin and wrestle and box,⁴ could take his part in festival dances,⁵ and swim like a fish.⁶ There were still several

θρέψομεν . . . αὐλοποιούς ἢ αὐλητὰς παραδέξῃ εἰς τὴν πόλιν; . . . Δύρα δὴ σοι . . . καὶ κιθάρα λείπεται [καὶ] κατὰ πόλιν χρήσιμα. καὶ αὖ κατ' ἀγροὺς τοῖς νομεῦσι σύριγξ ἂν τις εἴῃ. That the lyre was going out of fashion a little in our period seems indicated—not merely by Plato's invective against other instruments (see above), but also by Ar. *Nub.* 1357 ἀρχαῖον εἶν' ἔφασκε τὸ κιθαρίζειν. But it could hardly have been displaced as yet in the schools. Cf. Plato *Alc.* I 106E etc.

¹ αὐλός. Cf. Plato *Rep.* 3, 399C, D; Com. frag. 69 line 5; *Protag.* 318C (a famous teacher of αὐλησις); *Alc.* I 106E (see note 1, p. 82). The aim of the instruction in music was educational rather than technical—unless one wished himself to become a professional teacher. Cf. Plato *Protag.* 312B οὐκ ἐπὶ τέχνῃ ἔμαθες, ὡς δημιουργὸς ἐσόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ, ὡς τὸν ἰδιώτην καὶ τὸν ἐλεύθερον πρέπει. And see following note.

² Becker-Göll, II, pp. 68–69; Plato *Protag.* 325E, 326A, B οἱ δὲ διδάσκαλοι τούτων (sc. εὐκοσμία κτλ.) τε ἐπιμελοῦνται καὶ ἐπειδὴν αὖ γράμματα μάθωσι καὶ μέλλωσι συνήσειν τὰ γεγραμμένα, ὥσπερ τότε τὴν φωνὴν παρατιθέασιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων ἀναγιγνώσκειν ποιητῶν ἀγαθῶν ποιήματα καὶ ἐκμανθάνειν ἀναγκάζουσιν, ἐν οἷς πολλὰ μὲν νοθετήσεις ἔνεισι, πολλὰ δὲ διέξοδοι καὶ ἔπαινοι καὶ ἐγκώμια παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἵνα ὁ παῖς ζῆλῶν μιμῆται καὶ ὀρέγεται τοιοῦτος γενέσθαι. οἱ τ' αὖ κιθαρίζοντες ἕτερα τοιαῦτα σωφροσύνης τε ἐπιμελοῦνται καὶ ὅπως ἂν οἱ νέοι μὴδὲν κακουργῶσι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐπειδὴν κιθαρίζειν μάθωσιν, ἄλλων αὖ ποιητῶν ἀγαθῶν ποιήματα διδάσκουσι μελοποιῶν εἰς τὰ κιθαρίσματα ἐντέλλοντες καὶ τοὺς ρυθμούς τε καὶ τὰς ἀρμονίας, etc. Cf. Xen. *Symp.* 3, 5, where Niceratus can repeat the whole *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as his father had made him learn it by heart.

³ That this was the purpose of his athletic training, rather than any mere technical proficiency, is expressly stated (Plato *Protag.* 312B (see note 1 above); cf. also 326B ἔτι τοίνυν πρὸς τούτοις εἰς παιδοτρίβου πέμπουσιν, ἵνα τὰ σώματα βελτίῳ ἔχοντες ὑπηρετῶσι τῇ διανοίᾳ χρηστῇ οὕσῃ); and is implied in the slurs on the professional athlete, like that in Plato *Rep.* 3, 403E; Eurip. frag. 284N; Isocr. *de Permut.* (15) 250; Xen. *Symp.* 2, 17 etc.

⁴ See Becker-Göll, II, p. 248; Krause, *Die Gymnastik u. Agonistik der Hellenen* (id. Pauly, *Real-Encycl.*, III, p. 990 sqq.); Grasberger, *Erziehung u. Unterricht im klass. Alt.*, *Die leibliche Erziehung*, II^{te} Abt., *Die Turnschule d. Knaben* (in particular p. 298 sqq.). See Plato *Charm.* 159C, D, where the subjects of instruction are listed: πυκτεῦν, παγκρατιάειν, θεῖν, ἄλλεσθαι, etc.; and *Alc.* I 106E, where παλαίειν stands for the gymnastic instruction.

⁵ Cf. the chorus of boys whose training is described in Antiphon *de Choreuta*. Of course such training can hardly be assumed for every lad.

⁶ See Grasberger, p. 376 (cf. Plato *Laws* 3, p. 689D μήτε νεῖν μήτε γράμματα).

years, as a rule, before his majority.¹ The strict government of his γραμματιστής and his καθαριστής was already over. We may fancy that now he improved the chance to learn something of the trade (τέχνη) which the law prescribed he should understand — unless indeed that archaic prescription had already become a dead letter.² It was at this point that the boy of moderate circumstances or poor performance³ closed his school-days, and turned to the business of active life.⁴ But if his father were ambitious for him, or his own tastes inclined him to it, there were other studies⁵ and other teachers for our lad.⁶ He had already begun arithmetic, and he might continue the science of numbers,⁷ or add geometry⁸

¹ The παιδεία, in the narrow sense, seems to have ended about the time a boy was sixteen. See note 6, p. 74, and see Becker-Göll, II, p. 72: "Der Besuch der Schulen wurde bis zur Jünglingsreife (ἡβη) fortgesetzt." (Cf. Hermann-Blümner, p. 322, note 4.) "Was darüber hinaus lag, war lediglich ein höherer Unterricht bei Rhetoren u. Sophisten, dessen Kosten auch nur die Reichen bestreiten konnten."

² Plut. *Sol.* 22. (See note 1, p. 108.)

³ It is interesting to note that these dull scholars, whose awakening books could not bring about, sometimes "found themselves" as soon as they emerged into practical life, and forged ahead of many of those who used to laugh at them. Cf. Isocr. 15. 207 ἔτι τοίνυν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι πολλοὺς τῶν συμπαιδευθέντων οἱ παῖδες μὲν ὄντες ἀμαθέστατοι τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἔδοξαν εἶναι, πρεσβύτεροι δὲ γενόμενοι πλέον διήνεγκαν πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ὧν παῖδες ὄντες ἀπελείφθησαν.

⁴ See note 1 above.

⁵ Unless indeed it was his lot to fall in with a σοφιστής (like Hippias) who put him over the same old programme — perhaps taking advanced work in the familiar subjects. See Plato *Protag.* 318E.

⁶ The γραμματιστής himself seems at times to have been capable of directing these further studies. Cf. Damon, in Plato's *Laches* (180C, D), and see Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, VIII, p. 349 sqq. But the boys we meet with doing higher work have for the most part passed from under the γραμματιστής, and are studying with some special teacher. So Hippocrates, with Protagoras (Plato *Protag.* 312B), the young fellows in the *Laches*, with the teacher of fencing (Plato, *Laches* 179E sqq.), Theaetetus, with Theodorus, etc. (Plato *Theaet.* 143 sqq.). ⁷ On λογισμοί, see note 4, p. 110.

⁸ γεωμετρία. That this subject was *not*, as a rule, begun early, seems implied in Plato *Rep.* 7, 536D νέων δὲ πάντες οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ πόνοι. . . . τὰ μὲν τοίνυν λογισμῶν τε καὶ γεωμετριῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς προπαιδείας ἦν τῆς διαλεκτικῆς δεῖ προπαιδευθῆναι, παισὶν οὖσι χρὴ προβάλλειν. Cf. Plato *Hipp.* 1285C; *Rep.* 6, 510C; 7, 526C; *Protag.* 318E; *Theaet.* 145C, D; *Laws* 7, 817E; Xen. *Mem.* 4, 7, 2 ἐδίδασκε δὲ καὶ μέχρι ὅτου δέοι ἔμπειρον εἶναι ἐκάστου πράγματος τὸν ὁρθῶς πεπαιδευμένον. αὐτίκα γεωμετρίαν μέχρι μὲν τούτου ἔφη δεῖν μαθάνειν, ἕως ἱκανὸς τις γένοιτο, εἰ ποτε δεήσειε, γῆν μέτρῳ ὁρθῶς ἢ παραλαβεῖν ἢ παραδοῦναι ἢ διανεῖμαι ἢ ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι. . . . τὸ δὲ μέχρι τῶν

and mensuration,¹ even master the elements of astronomy,² as his teachers conceived it, or delve in the principles of *ἁρμονία*³ and *ῥυθμοί*.⁴ He might indeed take up the new subject of drawing (*γραφική*)⁵; or take lessons in riding,⁶ or wrestling,⁷ or fencing,⁸ from some past

δυσσυνέτων διαγραμμάτων γεωμετρίαν μαθάνειν ἀπεδοκίμαζεν. ὃ τι μὲν γὰρ ὠφέλοιη ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔφη ὁρᾶν· καίτοι οὐκ ἀπειρος τε αὐτῶν ἦν. "Geometry," in this understanding of it, is practically our "mensuration," and is indeed rendered by *μετρητική* in Plato *Laus* 7, 817 E *μετρητική δὲ μήκους καὶ ἐμπέδου καὶ βάθους*, etc. See also Isocr. 12, 26.

¹ See note 8, p. 112. (Plato *Leg.* 7, 817 E; Xen. *Mem.* 4, 7, 2.)

² Twofold — *ἀστρολογία* (which was little more than knowledge of the almanac: Isocr. 12, 26; 11, 23; Xen. *Mem.* 4, 7, 4 *ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ ἀστρολογίας ἐμπείρους γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ταύτης μέντοι μέχρι τοῦ νυκτός τε ὥραν καὶ μηνὸς καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ δύνασθαι γινώσκειν ἕνεκα πορείας τε καὶ πλοῦ καὶ φυλακῆς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἢ νυκτός ἢ μηνὸς ἢ ἐνιαυτοῦ πράττεται, πρὸς ταῦτ' ἔχειν τεκμηρίους χρῆσθαι, τὰς ὥρας τῶν εἰρημένων διαγινώσκοντας*) and *ἀστρονομία* (τὰ περὶ τὰ ἀστρον καὶ . . . τὰ οὐράνια πάθη, Plato *Hipp.* I 285 B). See Plato *Laus* 7, 817 E (τῆς τῶν ἀστρον περιόδου πρὸς ἄλληλα ὡς πέφυκε πορεύεσθαι); *Rep.* 7, 527 D; *Protag.* 318 E; *Theaet.* 145 C, D; Xen. *Mem.* 4, 7, 5 τὸ δὲ μέχρι τούτου ἀστρονομίαν μαθάνειν, μέχρι τοῦ καὶ τὰ μὴ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ περιφορᾷ ὄντα καὶ τοὺς πλανητάς τε καὶ ἀσταθμήτους ἀστέρας γινῶναι καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰς περιόδους καὶ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν ζητοῦντας κατατρίβεσθαι, ἰσχυρῶς ἀπέτρεπεν. ὠφέλειαν γὰρ οὐδεμίαν οὐδ' ἐν τούτοις ἔφη ὁρᾶν.

³ Plato *Theaet.* 145 C, D; *Hipp.* I 285 C; *Protag.* 326 B.

⁴ See note 3.

⁵ Plato *Protag.* 318 C. Cf. Becker-Göll, II, p. 63; Hermann-Blümner, p. 324 sqq., with the passages there cited. That Plato, for instance (Diog. Laert. 3, 5), and Euripides (Biogr. Graec., ed. Westermann, p. 134, 15; 139, 22; 141, 7) actually did study this subject, was current tradition.

⁶ Plato *Laches* 181 E καὶ ἅμα προσήκει μάλιστ' ἐλευθέρῳ τοῦτο τε τὸ γυμνάσιον (sc. ὀπλομαχία) καὶ ἡ ἱππική. Cf. Pericles' two sons (Plato *Meno* 94 B *ἱππέας μὲν ἐδίδαξεν οὐδενὸς χείρους Ἀθηναίων*, etc. See *Protag.* 319 E) and Themistocles' son Cleophantus (Plato *Meno* 93 D), whose feats of horsemanship were celebrated (e.g. *ἐπεμένει γοῦν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀρθὸς ἐστηκώς, καὶ ἡκόντιζεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ὀρθός, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἡργάζετο, ἃ ἐκείνος αὐτὸν ἐπαιδεύσατο καὶ ἐποίησε σοφόν, ὅσα διδασκάλων ἀγαθῶν εἶχετο*). We are not, of course, to suppose that Pericles and Themistocles literally superintended the instruction themselves, any more than they personally taught their sons *μουσική* and *ἀγωνία* — which are mentioned in the same connection. Cleophantus' horsemanship, though far above the Greek average, would excite no surprise in one of our cavalry troops.

⁷ *πάλη*. So Thucydides' sons, Melesias and Stephanus, learned under rival teachers. (Plato *Meno* 94 C καὶ ἐπάλαισαν κάλλιστα Ἀθηναίων· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ξανθία ἔδωκε, τὸν δὲ Εὐδῶρυ.)

⁸ *ὀπλομαχία*. Plato *Laches* 179 E, 181 E. (Cf. also 178 sqq., where a professional teacher has just given an exhibition of his skill.)

master of those arts. Or, if his tastes led him to philosophy¹ and rhetoric,² he might put himself under the guidance of a famous sophist,³ to train his powers of argument and fit himself for public life; or his good angel might turn his steps toward Socrates, and arrest his attention with the new dialectic.⁴ The limits of his course were set

¹ Too long a tarrying in the fields of speculation was supposed to unfit one for practical life. So Plato *Rep.* 6, 487 C, D *νῦν γὰρ φαίη ἂν τίς σοι λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ ἔχειν καθ' ἕκαστον τὸ ἐρωτώμενον ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ἔργῳ δὲ ὁρᾶν, ὅσοι ἂν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ὁρμήσαντες μὴ τοῦ πεπαιδεῦσθαι ἕνεκα ἀψάμενοι νέοι ὄντες ἀπαλλάττονται, ἀλλὰ μακρότερον ἐνδιατριψῶσιν, τοὺς μὲν πλείστους καὶ πάνυ ἀλλοκότους γιγνομένους, ἵνα μὴ παμπονήρους εἴπωμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπικεικαστάτους δοκοῦντας ὅμως τοῦτό γε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος οὐ σὺ ἐπαινεῖς πάσχοντας, ἀχρήστους ταῖς πόλεσι γιγνομένους.* This is Callias' opinion, in the *Gorgias* (485 A φιλοσοφίας μὲν ὅσον παιδείας χάριν καλὸν μετέχειν, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν μεираκίῳ ὄντι φιλοσοφεῖν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡδὴ πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἄνθρωπος ἔτι φιλοσοφῇ, καταγέλαστον, ὃ Σώκρατες, τὸ χρῆμα γίγνεται). Cf. also 485 D (ἔταν δὲ δὴ πρεσβύτερον ἴδω ἔτι φιλοσοφοῦντα καὶ μὴ ἀπαλλαττόμενον, πληγῶν μοι δοκεῖ ἡδὴ δεῖσθαι, ὃ Σώκρατες, οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ . . . ὑπάρχει τούτῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, κὰν πάνυ εὐφύης ᾗ, ἀνάνδρῳ γενέσθαι φεύγοντι τὰ μέσα τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἐν αἷς ἔφη ὁ ποιητῆς τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀριπρεπεῖς γίγνεσθαι; καταδεδυκότες δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον βιῶναι μετὰ μεираκίων ἐν γωνίᾳ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ψιθυρίζοντα, etc.). Hence the philosopher complains that the average youth has time for but a sorry beginning of knowledge. (Plato *Rep.* 6, 495 A *νῦν μὲν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, οἱ καὶ ἀπτόμενοι μεираκία ὄντα ἄρτι ἐκ παίδων τὸ μεταξὺ οἰκονομίας καὶ χρηματισμοῦ πλησιάσαντες αὐτοῦ τῷ χαλεπωτάτῳ ἀπαλλάττονται, οἱ φιλοσοφώτατοι ποιούμενοι· λέγω δὲ χαλεπώτατον τὸ περὶ τοὺς λόγους.*) We gather from this passage also the natural conclusion that φιλοσοφία formed part of the higher work only.

² Of rhetorical instruction we have mention in Plato *Menex.* 236 A (where Socrates declares that Aspasia is his teacher) and in the *Apology* (17 C οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δήπου πρόποι, ὃ ἄνδρες, τῇδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὥσπερ μεираκίῳ πλάττοντι λόγους εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι), as well as in the *Euthydemus*, where it is included among the higher special pursuits of young men (307 A ἐπεὶ γυμναστικὴ οὐ καλὸν δοκεῖ σοι εἶναι καὶ χρηματιστικὴ καὶ ῥητορικὴ καὶ στρατηγία). As examples of the λόγοι πλαστοί to which Socrates alludes above, one may cite perhaps the Antiphontic Tetralogies.

³ We can hardly enter here into a discussion of the precise nature of the training our young Athenian got from these much-discussed teachers. Grote's brilliant argument has established the fact that, however much they may have fallen short of ideal perfection, these pioneers of the Higher Education performed a necessary and valuable function. He well remarks that their pupils, at least, considered that they got the worth of their money, or they would not repeatedly have paid their prices, as Callias for instance did. (See Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, VIII, pp. 349-399.) Cf. Becker-Göll, II, p. 72 sq.

⁴ See Plato *Apol.* 23 C πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ νέοι μοι ἐπακολουθοῦντες, οἷς μάλιστα σχολή ἐστίν, οἱ τῶν πλουσιωτάτων, αὐτόματοι χαίρουσιν ἀκούοντες ἐξεταζομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ αὐτοὶ πολλάκις ἐμὲ μιμοῦνται, εἰτα ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἄλλους ἐξετάζειν.

only by his means or his pleasure, until manhood brought its interruptions of business or military service.¹ We have no means of knowing how long these or any other studies were pursued. It is probable that other interests crowded them out soon enough, with most young men. And yet, outwardly, there seems to have been little difference for the few years after his coming of age in the young fellow's manner of living. He took charge of his property,² and perhaps took his seat in the assembly³; but he had as a rule little active share in public affairs for some years to come.⁴ Perhaps, like young Alcibiades, he had already been taking his first lessons in politics; or, like young Aristophanes, had been scribbling verses, and haunting the theatres on festival days, with keen eye for stage effects and the structure of a drama.⁵

¹ On such interruptions, cf. Isaeus *de Hered. Menecles* 2, 6 *ὄντες αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύεσθαι ἐτραπόμεια*; *de Hered. Nicostrati* 4, 27; Isocr. (16) 29, etc.

² So the young fellow Antiphon describes (ap. Athen. 12, p. 525 B, = frag. 67 Blass) is able immediately on attaining his majority to take over his property and leave town. (See note 4, p. 82.)

³ See note 5, p. 78.

⁴ There was probably no legal restriction, but convention was certainly as constraining as legal enactment to keep the normal young man for a time in the rôle of a spectator. Socrates' endeavors to bridle young Glaucon (see note 2, p. 82); the surprise of Thucydides at Alcibiades' prominence at thirty, though he seems to imply that Athenian standards were less rigid than those of other cities (Thuc. 5, 43, 2 *ἔτι τότε ὦν νέος ὡς ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει*); and the standing rule of calling on the old men to open debate (Aesch. *in Tim.* 23 *τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων*); as well as Mantisheus' apology for appearing to speak at too early an age (Lysias *pro Mantitheo* (16) 20 *ὅτι νεώτερος ὦν ἐπεχέλησα λέγειν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ*),—all testify to the strength of Athenian prejudice, and the prevailing canons of good taste.

⁵ See above (note 1, p. 98) on the presence of boys at the theatre (and of Aristophanes in particular, note 1, p. 83). Just as to-day comedy (and comic opera) is not the product of cloistered seclusion, we cannot conceive an *Acharnians*, or *Babylonians*, or *Banqueters*, without a background of observation of life and experience of stage conditions. See especially M. Croiset, *Aristophane et les Partis à Athènes* (Paris, 1906), p. 18 sqq. That boys scribbled verses then as now "when genius burned" we gather from the case of Charmides (Plato *Charm.* 154E *καὶ πάνν γε, ἔφη ὁ Κριτίας, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ἔστι φιλόσοφος τε καί, ὡς δοκεῖ ἄλλοις τε καὶ ἑαυτῷ, πάνν ποιητικός*). Cf. the lovers' panegyrics mentioned above (note 2, p. 103), and note also the stage-struck youth in the *Birds* (1444-1445):

ὁ δέ τις τὸν αὐτοῦ φησιν ἐπὶ τραγῳδίᾳ
ἀνεπτερώσθαι καὶ πεποτῆσθαι τὰς φρένας.

For some years he had been measurably free to go or come as he chose; had been getting acquainted with the ἀγορά, and the shops, and the baths, and the porches, where men gathered for discussion. He had only to go on in beaten paths. Of course, as a lad he had seen little of banquets and dinners away from home¹; and if as a special favor he had been taken to a friend's house to share in the festivities,² he had probably been expected to sit up while the rest reclined,³ and had had to leave when the fun was only just beginning.⁴ But those days were over for him. From the time of his majority, there was no more school; no more pedagogues to hamper and interfere⁵; saving only such leisure as he chose to give to reading⁶ and study, his time was his own to command, — and his life was merged in the greater life around

¹ Plato advises (*Laws* 2, 666A) against allowing wine to a boy till he is eighteen (πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς παῖδας μέχρι ἐτῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα τὸ παράπαν οἴνου μὴ γεύεσθαι, etc.) — though the warning itself is proof of cause for it. We need not, of course, regard the younger Alcibiades as typical (Lysias in *Alc. I* (14) 25; see note 2, p. 95), nor fix too certainly the age of the νεανίσκος whom the author of the *Apologia Socratis* (ascribed to Xenophon) pictures (31 ἀλλ' ὁ νεανίσκος ἡσθελὸς οἴνω οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρας ἐπαύετο πίνων — of Anytus' son, whom Socrates vainly tries to reclaim). That the Greek sense of moderation was not always operative is clearly seen in Plato's *Symposium* (176A etc.) where several of the guests feel the need ἀναψυχῆς τινος and of a ραστώνη τῆς πόσεως, after what Aristophanes humorously calls "the baptism of yesterday."

² As Autolycus was allowed to come to the banquet in honor of his victory in the παγκράτιον at the Panathenaea (Xen. *Symposium*).

³ Xen. *Symp.* 1, 8 Αὐτόλυκος μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὸν πατέρα ἐκαθέζετο, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὥσπερ εἰκὸς κατεκλίθησαν.

⁴ Xen. *Symp.* 9, 1 Αὐτόλυκος δέ, ἥδη γὰρ ὥρα ἦν αὐτῷ, ἐξανίστατο εἰς περίπατον, etc. His "training" was over, and, indeed, the Greeks were not very strenuous in matters of diet and regimen. The early hours are accordingly not exceptional.

⁵ See e.g. [Xen.] *Rep. Lac.* 3, 1 παύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ παιδαγωγῶν, παύουσι δὲ ἀπὸ διδασκάλων, etc. See note 3, p. 80.

⁶ Compare the pretty setting of the *Phaedrus*, where the young Phaedrus is reading Lysias' speech (Plato *Phaedrus* 228D). See also the reference to Anaxagoras' βιβλία (Plato *Apol.* 26E) and cf. *Theaet.* 143B. As indicating something of the range of reading, cf. Adeimantus in the *Republic*, who is made to quote Simonides (2, 364D), Pindar (365B), Homer (364E), Musaeus, Orpheus (365B), Archilochus (365C), and Phocylides (407B). How many of these passages are the fruit of the school drill in the poets (cf. Xen. *Symp.* 3, 6; Plato *Protag.* 326A, B) we cannot, of course, determine. (On books and reading, see further Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, III, pp. 939-985.)

him. The chase,¹ the cock-fights,² the bouts at the gymnasium,³ the long strolls in the country⁴ or swift gallops over the fields,⁵ the discussions

¹ Of the hunting of boars (Xen. *Mem.* 2, 6, 9; Plato *Laws* 7, 822 D-824 B), hares (Xen. *Mem.* 2, 6, 9; 3, 11, 7; Plato *Laws* 7, 822 D-824 B), deer (Plato *Laws* 7, 822 D-824 B), and birds (Xen. *Mem.* 2, 6, 9; Plato *Laws* 7, 822 D-824 B; Teleclid. frag. 26 Kock; Ar. frag. 51 Kock) (all these in Xen. *Cynegetica* passim), as well as of fishing (Plato *Sophist.* 220 A; *Laws* 7, 822 D-824 B), we find frequent mention. On the subject of hunting in general, see Xenophon's *Cynegetica* (and add Eurip. *Bacch.* 1254; Cratin. frag. 79 Kock; Pherecr. frag. 174 Kock; Ar. *Vesp.* 1202; Plato *Rep.* 2, 375 A; 3, 412 B; 5, 451 D, 459 A; *Laws* 6, 763 B, etc.).

² On quail and cock fighting see Becker-Göll, I, p. 133 sqq. (Anm. 6 zu Scen. V). Cf. Plato *Theaet.* 164 C; *Laws* 7, 789 B τρέφουσι γὰρ δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν οὐ μόνον παῖδες ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβύτεροί τινες ὀρνίθων θρέμματα, ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλα ἀσκοῦντες τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν θηρίων· πολλοὺ δὴ δέουσιν ἡγείσθαι τοὺς πόρους αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοὺς πρὸς ἀλλήλα μετρίους ἐν οἷς αὐτὰ ἀνακινῶσι γυμνάζοντες· πρὸς γὰρ τούτοις λαβόντες ὑπὸ μάλης ἕκαστος, τοὺς μὲν ἐλάττονας εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, μέλους δ' ὑπὸ τὴν ἀγκάλην ἐντός, πορεύονται περιπατοῦντες σταδίου παμπόλλους, ἕνεκα τῆς εὐεξίας . . . τῆς τούτων. So Socrates remarks to Glaucon (Plato *Rep.* 5, 459 A) ὁρῶ γάρ σου ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ κύνας θηρευτικούς καὶ τῶν γενναίων ὀρνίθων μάλα συχνοὺς — and goes on to speak of their breeding. The Athenian fondness for cock-fighting is remarkably evidenced by the Chair of the Priest of Dionysus, in the great theatre at Athens; which, as is well-known, has carved on it the representation of a cock-fight. See Aesch. in *Tim.* 53; Xen. *Symp.* 4, 9, etc.; see also Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 277-278.

³ That older men by no means forsook the gymnasium is testified in the striking passage where Plato discusses the exercise of women (*Rep.* 5, 452 B τί, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, γελοιότατον αὐτῶν ὀρεῖς; ἢ δῆλα δὴ ὅτι γυμνὰς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις γυμναζόμενας μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐ μόνον τὰς νέας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡδὴ τὰς πρεσβυτέρας ὥσπερ τοὺς γέροντας ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις, ὅταν ῥυσοὶ καὶ μὴ ἡδεῖς τὴν ὕψιν ὅμως φιλογυμναστῶσιν). So young married men, in spite of the objections sometimes raised by their wives (see Xen. *Symp.* 2, 3, "the oil of the wrestler the daintiest perfume for a man!"). Cf. Xen. *Symp.* 1, 7, where many of the guests come from the exercise-ground to the banquet (οἱ μὲν γυμνασάμενοι καὶ χρισάμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ λουσάμενοι παρήλθον).

⁴ Cf. Plato *Laws* 7, 789 B (note 2, above), the strollers with the birds who covered σταδίου παμπόλλους in their rambles; and the less strenuous Phaedrus and Socrates, at the beginning of Plato's dialogue (227 A πορεύομαι δὲ πρὸς περίπατον ἔξω τέλους. συχρὸν γὰρ ἐκεῖ διέτριψα χρόνον καθήμενος ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ· τῷ δὲ σῷ καὶ ἐμῷ ἑταίρῳ πειθόμενος Ἀκουμένῳ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ποιῶμαι τοὺς περιπάτους· φησὶ γὰρ ἀκοπωτέρους εἶναι τῶν ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις). So Ischomachus walks about his estate (Xen. *Oec.* 11, 15. See note 5 below).

⁵ Xen. *Oec.* 11, 17 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἱππασάμην ἱππασίαν ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ δύνωμαι ὁμοιοτάτην ταῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀναγκαλαῖς ἱππασίαις, οὔτε

in the ἀγορά, of a daytime¹; and, at night, the dinners and the banquets and the games and the revels,² — all these were meeting ground for young and old. And when it came time to take the field, Socrates and Alcibiades fought side by side.³ From this point the story of the μειράκιον is the story of every Athenian, and that story does not here concern us.

VI

I have already had occasion to remark more than once the likeness between the young American of to-day and the young Athenian of these days when Aristophanes was growing to manhood and Plato sat at the feet of Socrates. And indeed it is this impression above all that lasts for us, when all the plays and the speeches and the annals have been read. But it is a likeness with a difference. The world is older by two thousand years, and twenty centuries count for something even in

πλαγίου οὔτε κατάντους οὔτε τάφρου οὔτε ὀχετοῦ ἀπεχόμενος, ὡς μέντοι δυνατὸν ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἐπιμέλομαι μὴ ἀποχωλεῦσαι τὸν ἵππον. It is interesting that Ischomachus has his horse *led out* for him—while he *walks* about his business. Riding can hardly have been an unmixed pleasure to him. Imagine a modern Virginian *walking* round his estate, and using a horse only for a half-hour's exercise! (On horse-back riding cf. also Plato *Meno* 93D, 94B.)

¹ See note 7, p. 90. Cf. also Socrates' habit of dropping in there (Xen. *Mem.* I, I, 10 πρὸς τε γὰρ εἰς τοὺς περιπάτους καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια ἦει καὶ πληθοῦσης ἀγορᾶς ἐκεῖ φανερός ἦν).

² On συμπόσια and κῶμοι cf. Lysias in *Tisid.* frag. 75, 3; Ar. *Plut.* 1040; *Ach.* 524; Philyll. frag. 5 Kock; Antiphan. frag. 190 line 20 Kock; Isaeus *de Hered. Pyrrhi* 3, 14; Thuc. 6, 28, 1; Xen. *Symp.* 2, 1; Plato *Symp.* 212D, 223B; *Rep.* 6, 500B; Lysias *pro Mantitheo* (16) 11, etc. That the κῶμος was an integral part of the συμπόσιον, the entertainment which closed the banquet, is seen clearly in Xenophon's *Symposium*. The scenes of wild disorder that it came to symbolize were not originally an essential part of it. But even Plato is forced to admit that he had never heard of a συμπόσιον that did not sooner or later transgress the limits of propriety (Plato *Laws* I, 639D ταύτην οὖν μῶν ὀρθῶς γιγνομένην ἤδη τις πρότε ἐθεάσατο; . . . ἐγὼ . . . ἐντετύχηκά τε πολλαῖς καὶ πολλαχοῦ . . . καὶ σχεδὸν ὅλην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ὀρθῶς γιγνομένην ἐώρακα οὐδ' ἀκήκοα). Too often, at Athens as with us, Dionysus lighted the torch of Aphrodite. Cf. such passages as *Ach.* 524; Isaeus *de Hered. Pyrrhi* 3, 14; Plato *Symp.* 177E. Plato's *Symposium* is professedly an exception in its substitution of conversation for more sensual delights. See Becker-Göll, II, pp. 336, 359–360, and cf. the closing scenes of the *Wasps* and of the *Peace*.

³ See Plato *Symp.* 219E etc.

the slow-changing consciousness of the race. A fever and a hurry have been born in our blood that would have passed the comprehension of the Greek; and the untroubled leisure of the slave-owning Athenian has passed from our earth beyond recall. There is a charm about it, this life that can look beyond questions of things to eat and to drink and the wherewithal to be clothed to the greater interests of philosophy and government, and can take time to be hospitable and to enjoy one's friends and serve one's community and cultivate one's tastes. The traditions of old Virginia life before the Civil War are curiously reminiscent of these vanished Attic days.¹ And yet we know that the world has long since refused to pay the cost of this gracious leisure of the few. The Athenian was cradled in a pride of family and of birth that no outward revolution or inner change of governmental forms could shake. We shall miss part of the picture of our young fellow unless we remember that touch of youthful arrogance characteristic of his class.² Yet a sentiment of responsibility, of *noblesse oblige*, was not seldom mingled with this pride to the making of a rarely attractive personality.³ In Alcibiades, the "lion's whelp"⁴ whom men and women spoiled and petted and flattered till his better nature was swallowed up in a thirst for personal distinction, we have the type of all that is worst in his period, and yet he had been an Alcibiades whom Socrates loved and labored for.⁵ His failure should not blind us to the rest of those Attic youth that Plato portrays for us. For these are no "lay figures," Charmides⁶ and Lysis,⁷ Cleinias⁸ and Phaedo,⁹ Phaedrus¹⁰ and Hermogenes,¹¹ Socrates¹² and

¹ See among others an interesting article, *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. LXXX, p. 330 sqq., on this theme ("A Southerner in the Peloponnesian War"), by B. L. Gilder-sleeve.

² So Socrates in Plato's *Euthydemus* (273 A) characterizes Ctesippus as *νεανίσκος τις Παιανιεύς, μάλα καλὸς τε κάγαθος τὴν φύσιν, ὅσον μὴ ὑβριστῆς διὰ τὸ νέος εἶναι*.

³ See Socrates' bantering remarks to young Menexenus (Plato *Menex.* 234 B), and cf. in general the portraits that Xenophon and Plato and others draw of these lads of good family. Cf. also the noble ambitions attributed to Alcibiades by his son in Isocrates' oration (16, 29).

⁴ Ar. *Ran.* 1431 λέοντος σκύμνον.

⁹ Plato *Phaedo* 89 B.

⁵ See passages cited in note 4, p. 105.

¹⁰ Plato *Phaedrus* ad init. et passim.

⁶ Plato *Charm.* 153 sqq.

¹¹ Plato *Cratyl.* 391 C etc.

⁷ Plato *Lysis* 204 B, 206 D, 213 D, etc.

¹² Plato *Sophist.* 218 B; *Politic.* 257 C.

⁸ Plato *Euthyd.* 273 A etc.

Hippocrates,¹ Menexenus² and Theaetetus³; they are real lads, born and bred in the city of Athena. If History has written "weighed and found wanting" against the names of Alcibiades and Meno⁴ and Critias⁵ and one and another of these youths of bright promise; if the portraits, as Plato draws them, seem sometimes to resemble but remotely the men whose names they bear,⁶ — we cannot doubt their essential truth as pictures of contemporary life. Like the careless, impudent little boys in the *Wasps*,⁷ teasing for sweetmeats,⁸ and laughing at easy-going parental

¹ Plato *Protag.* 310 sqq.

² Plato *Lysis* 207 B, C, 211 C, etc.; *Menex.* 234 B.

³ Plato *Theaet.* 143 E sqq.

⁴ See Xen. *Anab.* 2, 6, 28, and compare with Plato's *Meno*.

⁵ Cf. Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, VIII, p. 468 sqq.

⁶ Note e.g. the inconsistencies between the portrait of Alcibiades in the dialogue of that name and in the *Symposium*, and the great discrepancy between Plato's *Meno* and the *Meno* of the *Anabasis*. It does not at present matter to us which, if either, more accurately pictures the historical character. The important thing is that Plato had seen and known boys like those he pictures — whatever their names may have been.

⁷ Ar. *Vesp.* 248

BOY. τὸν πηλὸν ὦ πάτερ πάτερ τουτοὺ φύλαξαι.
 FATHER. κάρφος χαμᾶθέν νυν λαβὼν τὸν λύχρον πρόβυσσον.
 BOY. οὐκ ἀλλὰ τῷδ' μοι δοκῶ τὸν λύχρον προβύσειν.
 FATHER. τί δὴ μαθὼν τῷ δακτύλῳ τὴν θρυαλλίδ' ὠθεῖς,
 καὶ ταῦτα τοῦλαίου σπανίζοντος ωνόητε;
 οὐ γὰρ δάκνει σ' ὅταν δέῃ τίμιον πρίασθαι (*hits him*).
 BOY. εἰ νῆ Δί' αὖθις κονδύλοις νουθετήσῃς ἡμᾶς,
 ἀποσβέσαντες τοὺς λύχρους ἀπιμεν οἴκαδ' αὐτοί.
 κἄπειτ' ἴσως ἐν τῷ σκότῳ τουτοῦ στερηθεῖς
 τὸν πηλὸν ὥσπερ ἀτταγᾶς τυρβάσεις βαδίζων.
 FATHER. ἦ μὴν ἐγὼ σου χᾷτέρους μέλζοντας κολάζω.

⁸ Ar. *Vesp.* 291

BOY. ἐβελήσεις τί μοι οὖν ὦ
 πάτερ, ἣν σοῦ τι δεηθῶ;
 FATHER. πάνν γ' ὦ παιδίον. ἀλλ' εἰ-
 πὲ τί βούλει με πρίασθαι
 καλόν; οἶμαι δέ σ' ἐρεῖν ἀ-
 στραγάλους δῆπουθεν ὦ παῖ.
 BOY. μὰ Δί' ἀλλ' ἰσχάδας ὦ παπ-
 πία· ἥδιον γάρ.
 FATHER. οὐκ ἂν
 μὰ Δί', εἰ κρέμαισθέ γ' ὑμεῖς.
 BOY. μὰ Δί' οὐ τᾶρα προπέμψω σε τὸ λοιπόν.

threats¹; like Pheidippides, in the *Clouds*, with his horses and his races and his debts²; like priggish Mantitheus³ whose aggressive virtue made all the "bad boys" hate him; like shy Autolycus,⁴ snuggling close to the big father he adored, to cover his embarrassment at the notice he had drawn to himself by his impetuous speech at the dinner, — Plato's lads are too real to be mere products of imagination. It was a gracious thought of the philosopher's to give us in his deathless pages a Socrates in converse with the young and the comely with whom he so loved to surround himself in life.⁵ And yet, strangely enough, it is not beautiful Charmides, or blushing and ingenuous Lysis, that one's thought loves to linger upon: it is rather Theaetetus,⁶ ugly to behold as Socrates himself, that comes to stand for us as the type of the New Athenian. "If he were a handsome fellow," says his master Theodorus, "I should hesitate to praise him, lest they set me down as a lover of his. But — asking your forgiveness — he is no handsome fellow, for he has a snub nose the image of yours, and eyes that bulge out as yours do, though

FATHER. ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦδέ με τοῦ μισθαρίου
τρίτον αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἄλφιτα δεῖ καὶ ξύλα κῶψον·
ἔ. ἔ. σὺ δὲ σὺκά μ' αἰτεῖς, etc.

¹ See Ar. *Vesp.* 254 sqq. (note 7, p. 120).

² See Ar. *Nub.* 14 sqq.

³ Lysias *pro Mantitheo* (16) 11 περὶ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν μοι μέγιστον ἡγοῦμαι τεκμήριον εἶναι τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπαικείας, ὅτι τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσοι περὶ κύβους ἢ πότους ἢ περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἀκολασίας τυγχάνουσι τὰς διατριβάς ποιοῦμενοι, πάντας αὐτοὺς ὄψεσθ' ἐμοὶ διαφόρους ὄντας.

⁴ Xen. *Symp.* 3, 12. (See note 1, p. 110.)

⁵ Cf. Plato *Symp.* 213C . . . διεμνηχανήσω ὅπως παρὰ τῷ καλλίστῳ τῶν ἔνδον κατακέλει.

⁶ Plato *Theaet.* 143E καὶ μὴν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐμοὶ τε εἰπεῖν καὶ σοὶ ἀκοῦσαι πάννυ ἀξιον, οἷον ὑμῖν τῶν πολιτῶν μεираκίῳ ἐντετύχηκα. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἦν καλός, ἐφοβούμην ἂν σφόδρα λέγειν, μὴ καὶ τῷ δόξῃ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ αὐτοῦ εἶναι· νῦν δέ — καὶ μὴ μοι ἄχθου — οὐκ ἔστι καλός, προσέεικε δὲ σοὶ τήν τε σιμότητα καὶ τὸ ἔξω τῶν ὀμμάτων· ἦττον δὲ ἢ σὺ ταῦτ' ἔχει. ἀδεῶς δὴ λέγω. εὐ γὰρ ἴσθι ὅτι ὦν δὴ πώποτε ἐνέτυχον — καὶ πάννυ πολλοῖς πεπλησίακα — οὐδένα πω ἡσθόμην οὕτω θαυμαστῶς εὐ πεφυκότα. τὸ γὰρ εὐμαθὴ ὄντα, ὡς ἄλλῃ χαλεπόν, πρῶτον αὖ εἶναι διαφερόντως, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνδρεῖον παρ' ὄντινόν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐτ' ἂν φόβῳ γενέσθαι οὔτε ὀρώ γινώμενον. ἀλλ' οἷον τε ὁξεῖς ὥσπερ οὗτος καὶ ἀγχινοὶ καὶ μνήμονες ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς ὀξύρροποι εἰσι, καὶ ἄττοντες φέρονται ὥσπερ τὰ ἀνερμάτιστα πλοῖα, καὶ μανικώτεροι ἢ ἀνδρεῖοι φέρονται, οἷον τε αὖ ἐμβριθέστεροι νωθροὶ πως ἀπαντῶσι πρὸς τὰς μαθήσεις καὶ λήθης γέμοντες. ὁ δὲ οὕτω λείως τε καὶ ἀπταίστως καὶ ἀνυσίμως ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τὰς μαθήσεις τε καὶ ζητήσεις μετὰ πολλῆς πρᾶότητος, οἷον ἐλαίου ῥεῦμα ἀσποφθιτὸν ῥέοντος, ὥστε θαυμάσαι τὸ τηλικούτον ὄντα οὕτως ταῦτα διαπράττεσθαι.

not so much. I freely confess my delight ; for of all the lads I have ever met — and I have been associated with many another — I never saw one so wonderfully endowed as he. It is as easy for him to learn as it is hard for others ; and, though he is meek beyond his fellows, not one of them all is his equal in courage. I have never imagined or seen his like. For lads keen as he is, and quick and retentive, are commonly prone to swift passions, and, like boats without ballast, are swept hither and thither, and folly and rashness is nearer their hearts than courage : while they that are built of sturdier stock seem to come with laggard step to their tasks, and their learning is one long forgetting. But he goes as smoothly and evenly and effectively to work at his studies and his inquiries, with docile spirit, as a stream of oil that makes no murmur with its flowing ; and one never ceases to wonder how one such as he seems can do what he does.”

It is Theaetetus who is the finished product of the new era : no *roué*, no book-worm, no gabbler and idler of the markets, but a manly lad, his eye flashing with intelligence, his soul opening to receive the new truth ; swift, energetic, instinct with life, yet reverent and gentle in the presence of superior power, — Theaetetus, loyal, fearless, patriotic, ready to lay all the bright promise of his years¹ on the altar of service. As we turn from the busy Peiraeus, we hear the voice of his praises strangely mingling with the sound of the hurrying feet of those who are bringing him home.² It is the “ eternal note ” that vibrates through all life : heroism, idealism, sacrifice, — the “ long long thoughts ” of Youth, that all the disillusionment of Age cannot destroy.

¹ Plato *Theaet.* 142C δοκεῖ γάρ μοι ὀλίγον πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ (sc. Θεαιτήτῳ) μειρακίῳ ὄντι καὶ συγγενόμενός (sc. Σωκράτης) τε καὶ διαλεχθεὶς πάννυ ἀγασθῆναι αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν . . . εἶπέ τε ὅτι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη εἶη τοῦτον ἐλλόγιμον γενέσθαι εἴπερ εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθοι.

² Plato *Theaet.* 142A : EUCLEIDES. Εἰς λιμένα καταβαλὼν Θεαιτήτῳ ἐνέτυχον φερόμενός ἐκ Κορίνθου ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου Ἀθήναζε.

TERPSION. Ζῶντι ἢ τετελευτηκότι ;

EUCLEIDES. Ζῶντι καὶ μάλα μόλις· χαλεπῶς μὲν γὰρ ἔχει καὶ ὑπὸ τραυμάτων τινῶν, μάλλον μὴν αὐτὸν αἰρεῖ τὸ γεγονὸς νόσημα ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι.

TERPSION. Μῶν ἢ δυσεντερία ;

EUCLEIDES. Ναί.

TERPSION. Οἶον ἄνδρα λέγεις ἐν κινδύνῳ εἶναι.

EUCLEIDES. Καλὸν τε καὶ ἀγαθόν, ὦ Τερψίων, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ νῦν ἤκουόν τινων μάλα ἐγκωμιαζόντων αὐτὸν περὶ τὴν μάχην.

STYLISTIC TESTS AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WORKS OF BOETHIUS

BY ARTHUR PATCH MCKINLAY

WHOEVER undertakes to treat of Boethius finds himself in illustrious company. Potentates, churchmen, scholastics, and philosophers have busied themselves with this "last of the Romans." It would appear that but little remains to be said on such a well worn subject. Much less does it seem fitting in a beginner to essay that little. Yet, as the recent researches of Usener and Brandt and the acute suggestions of Rand have marked an epoch in *Boethiana*, one may hope to gain still further insight into the character and mode of thought of the author of the *Consolatio*. With this purpose in view, by the help of the so-called stylistic method, I intend to examine the writings of Boethius, in case it may be possible more accurately to place works the dates of which are not yet certain. To be explicit, I hope to show that the *De Arithmetica* and the *De Musica* should be placed neither first nor together; more definitely to place certain other works; to throw light on the authenticity of the *De Geometria* and the *De Fide Catholica*, and incidentally to test the value of the so-called stylistic method in determining the relative chronology of an author's writings.

For a definition of the meaning of stylistic method, and an illustration of its application, I may refer to the well-known work of Lutoslawski, entitled *The origin and growth of Plato's logic with an account of Plato's style and of the chronology of his writings*, 1897. Lutoslawski applies five hundred tests, comprising more than fifty-eight thousand instances. The tests are of various sorts, such as the relative frequency of hiatus and of synonymous expressions in works of different periods. Lutoslawski prefaces his conclusions with certain principles which he contends must hold good in all such investigations. As these principles practically coincide with my own, evolved independently, — for I purposely did not read the book till my investigation was finished — I cite the most important of them.

1. The method is of little value in works of but few pages in length.
2. The method is of little value unless corroborated by considerations other than stylistic.
3. Synonyms are the best tests.
4. Of two works, the one which agrees in more criteria with a third work whose date is fixed, more nearly coincides with that work in time.

Relying on these principles and tabulating his criteria, Lutoslawski shows that known early works of Plato, such as the *Crito*, have but few points in common with the last, the *Laws*, whereas the *Sophistes*, *Politicus*, and *Philebus* agree with the *Laws* in more than fifty per cent. of the tests used. Hence he concludes that the dialectical works come late in Plato's career. This much for the method.

Anybody who has read Boethius with care will have observed two marked characteristics of his style. The first of these is the prevalence of various constructions, due, apparently, to the influence of his translations from the Greek. As a large portion of Boethius's works consists of translations of Greek texts and commentaries thereon, one may naturally wonder to what extent Greek usage influences his style. Some light is thrown on the answer from his own words, *Commentarii*¹ in *Porphyrium*, p. 71 A, in which he gives his theory of translation. "Secundus hic arreptae expositionis labor nostrae seriem translationis expediet, in qua quidem vereor ne subierim fidi interpretis culpam, cum verbum verbo expressum comparatumque reddiderim. Cuius incepti ratio est quod in his scriptis in quibus rerum cognitio quaeritur, non luculentae orationis lepos sed incorrupta veritas exprimenda est." That our author carried out this purpose of a literal translation can be seen from even a cursory examination of his works; for traces of Greek usage are found in the commentaries and other works as well as in the translations. A few examples will suffice to illustrate my point.

*Quidem*² . . . *autem* and *quidem* . . . *vero* in the sense of *μὲν* . . .

¹ I cite the works of Boethius as follows: the two editions *περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, ed. C. Meiser; works on the quadrivium, ed. G. Friedlein; *Consolatio Philosophiae* and *Opuscula Sacra*, ed. Peiper; remaining works, ed. M(igne). In citing the works of Aristotle, I refer to the Tauchnitz edition for the first part of the *Organon*; to Waitz for the *Priora* and *Posteriora Analytica*.

² As shown by E. K. Rand, *Der dem Boethius zugeschriebene Traktat De Fide Catholica*, *Jahrbücher für Klassische Philologie*, XXVI, Supplementband, p. 428 ff.

δέ appear very often in the translations and in all the works that follow the *Dialogi in Porphyrium*. This usage, to a less degree, is found even in classical authors. See Cicero's *Topica*, 51, 65 (?), 95 (?), and especially 60: atque illud *quidem* genus causarum, quod habet vim efficiendi necessariam, errorem adferre non fere solet; hoc *autem* sine quo non efficitur saepe conturbat.

Another marked Graecism in Boethius is the use of *quoniam*¹, *quia*, *quod* clauses to translate clauses with ὅτι and ὥς in indirect discourse. This usage crops out continually in the commentaries also. It is so frequent that *manifestum quoniam* (*Posteriora Analytica*, p. 741 A), or *palam quoniam* (*Priora Analytica*, p. 667 D), are used without a verb as a rendering for δῆλον ὅτι.

The influence of translation is seen also in constructions that follow comparisons. Often we find the same case as in the original, that is, the genitive, e. g. Aristotle, *Categoriae*, 4, 11: τῷ τὴν μὲν τῶν ὁμογενῶν μείζονα εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἔλαττον τῶν ὁμογενῶν. Cf. M(igne), p. 210 B: eo quod hoc quidem sui generis maius sit, illud vero minus sui generis. Though this literal transference occurs, yet the ablative with *a* (*ab*)² is the usual construction, whether with verbs implying a comparison or after comparative adjectives and adverbs. Of the former the following is a good example, Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, 10, 8: ταῦτα γὰρ ἐκείνων διαφέρει τῷ μὴ καθόλου εἶναι. Cf. Meiser, p. 14, 21 f.: haec enim ab illis differunt eo quod non universaliter sunt. For the construction after adjectives

See also the columns under *quidem* . . . *autem* and *quidem* . . . *vero* in my table on p. 138 below.

¹ There has been much discussion as to the origin of this use of *quoniam*, *quia*, *quod* in indirect discourse. For a review of the subject see Schmalz, in *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1905, p. 557. Some argue that the usage comes in from the *sermo plebeius*, others from the Greek. Probably Greek influence merely accelerated the adoption of the construction; for the idea was inherent in the language. To illustrate, there is so little difference between the infinitive after *commemoro* and the construction with *quod*, that it would have been surprising if the Latin writers had not been ready to make a free use of the latter.

² Concerning the origin of this construction, Roensch, *Italia und Vulgata*, p. 452, thinks that it crept in through the Christian writers from the Hebrew idiom. However this may be, the discussion, in the preceding note, of the *quoniam*, *quia*, *quod* construction is applicable here also; for as the Latin ablative of comparison contained the idea of separation, it would have been strange, if, with the increase in the use of prepositions, *a* (*ab*) had not come to be used in constructions after comparisons.

tives see Porphyry, *Isagoge*, 3, 16: 'Ο γὰρ ἄνθρωπος πλέον ἔχει τοῦ ζώου τὸ λογικὸν καὶ τὸ θνητόν. Cf. M., p. 125 c: Homo enim ab animali plus habet rationale et mortale. This use is frequent in the commentaries and other works.

The influence of translation is further shown by the extraordinary frequency of *idcirco quoniam*, *quia*, *quod*; *ideo quoniam*, *quia*, *quod* and the like. How Boethius treated the Greek equivalents will appear from the following illustrations: διὰ τό with infinitive (*Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, 7, 8 = *idcirco quoniam* Meis., 7, 31), or *idcirco quia* (*Com. in Porphyrium*, 3, 20 = M., p. 129 c), or *ideo quod* (*Sophistici Elenchi*, 5, 6 = M., p. 1012 D), or *eo quod* (Aristotle, *Topica*, 8, 12, 8 = M., p. 1007 A), or *propterea quod* (Porphyry, *Isagoge*, 15, 1 = M., p. 155 D); τῷ with infinitive (Aristotle, *Categoriae*, 6, 10 = *idcirco quod* M., p. 246 B), or *eo quod* (Aristotle, *Topica*, 1, 1, 9 = M., p. 911 B), or *hoc quod* (*Categoriae*, 6, 11 = M., p. 247 A); διό = *eo quod* (*Topica*, 4, 5, 7 = M., p. 950 c), or *propter quod* (*ibid.* 6, 9, 9 = M., p. 982 c); διόπερ (*ibid.* 8, 12, 16 = *eo quod* M., p. 1008 B); διότι (*ibid.* 1, 1, 10 = *eo quod* M., p. 911 B). These collocations are so frequent that we even find ἐπεὶ turned by *eo quod* (*Topica*, 8, 10, 8 = M., p. 1005 B), or *idcirco quoniam* (Porphyry, *Isagoge*, 2, 19 = M., p. 100 c). I have collected all such collocations in the works of Boethius and find that, to omit translations, their sum approximates one thousand, a number which sufficiently attests their abundance. Naturally I do not hold that Boethius originated these expressions. I wish to show, however, that their frequency is due to his Greek studies.¹

One of the most interesting of Boethius's Graecisms is his treatment of the definite article. At first he sometimes omitted it, as in Aristotle, *Categoriae*, 8, 19 τὸ γὰρ ὑγιαίνειν Σωκράτην τῷ νοσεῖν Σωκράτην ἐναντίον ἐστίν. Cf. M., p. 278 D: Sanum namque esse Socratem ad languere Socratem contrarium est. Sometimes he used the collocation *id quod dicitur*. Cf. *Com. in Categorías*, p. 208 B: in eo quod ci . . . ce . . . ro dicitur; *Editio prima* περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, p. 49, 11: in eo nomine quod est homo; and again *De Syllogismis Categoricis*, p. 795 B: in Ciceronis nomine. Later for this construction he generally used *id*

¹ This is all that is implied in Rand's discussion of *quidem . . . vero* (*Jahrbücher für Klassische Philologie*, XXVI, Supplementband, pp. 428 ff.), a point that Stangl (*Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie*, 1903, p. 179) seems not to understand.

quod est. Cf. *Introductio ad Syllogismos Categoricos*, p. 763 B: in eo quod est Cicero. On this matter Boethius himself remarks (*Editio prima* περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, p. 62, 17 ff.): unde Graeci quoque his per se dictis verbis aliquotiens addunt articularia praepositiva, ut est τὸ τρέχειν, τοῦ τρέχειν, si quis enim dicat: velocius est id quod est currere eo quod est ambulare, in illo nominativum iunxit articulum dicens id quod est currere, in illo vero ablativum dicens eo quod est ambulare. (See also below, p. 147).

These illustrations make it evident that Greek idiom had great influence on the style of Boethius. Consequently it is rather surprising that Friedlein should have been uncertain about the reading of the manuscripts in the *De Arithmetica*, p. 86, l. 4 f.: quam secundum ad [?] (so Friedlein) aliquid speculamur. For we often find *ad aliquid* = πρὸς τι not only in the translations, but also in the commentaries and the other writings. See *Com. in Categorias*, p. 213 B, and especially *Sophistici Elenchi*, 25, 4: Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸς τι. Cf. M., p. 1034 C: similiter autem et in ad aliquid. Here the preposition *in* accompanies the expression *ad aliquid*.

Among other striking Graecisms in Boethius it will suffice to cite merely the following. The impersonal gerundive governs the accusative case. *Sophistici Elenchi*, 34, 1: πῶς λυτέον τοὺς λόγους καὶ συλλογισμούς. Cf. M., p. 1039 B: quomodo solvendum est orationes et syllogismos. This use appears frequently in the translations.

Again, ἄρα in questions is turned by *putasne* (*Sophistici Elenchi*, 20, 6: ἄρα οἶδας = M., p. 1030 A: putasne vidisti), or by *ut putas* (*ibid.* 10, 10 = M., p. 1019 C).

The participle with ἄν λανθάνοι = the participle with latebit. *Ibid.* 17, 19: μεταφέρων ἄν τις λανθάνοι τὰ ὀνόματα. Cf. M., p. 1028 C: Transferens quispiam nomina latebit.

Οὐδέ = *nequidem* (not *ne . . . quidem*). Cf. Aristotle, *Topica*, 1, 4, 5 = M., p. 913 A.

ὅτι τοσαυταχῶς = *quod totidem modis*. Cf. *Sophistici Elenchi*, 4, 2 = M., p. 1010 A).

Wherefore it is clear that literal translation is a feature of the style of Boethius. Still he was no slavish transcriber. His object, as has been shown above,¹ was accurately to convey the meaning of the original.

¹ See p. 124.

Consequently he was not at all loth to depart from mere verbal transference, if he could thereby better attain his aim of clearness. His use of examples attests this point. Some of the most striking are :

Sophistici Elenchi, 4, 8 : καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ὅτι οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς εἶπεν,

‘δίδομεν δὲ οἱ εὖχος ἀρέσθαι.’

Cf. M., p. 1011 B : et id de Niso et Euryalo cum Rutulos vino somnoque sepultos intellexissent,

Cetera per terras omnis animalia somno

Laxabant curas et corda oblita laborum.

Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, p. 4, 7 : κάλλιππος = *equiferus*. *Ibid.*, l. 20 : Φίλων = *Cato*. *Ibid.*, l. 29 : ὑγίεια = *cursus*. *Ibid.*, p. 6, 28 : Καλλίας = *Plato*. *Ibid.*, p. 17, 3 : σκυτεὺς = *citharoedus*. *Isagoge*, p. 87 c : Ἡρακλειδῶν = *Romanorum*. *Ibid.*, Ἡρακλέους = *Romuli*. Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, p. 5, 17 : οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τῷ μῦς τὸ ὅς σημαντικόν = nec in eo quod est *sorex*, rex significat.

From the above illustrations it is plain that the style of Boethius was much affected by his Greek studies, a result which one might naturally expect and to which Georg Bednarz called attention in his article (*De Boethii Universo Colore*, Pars Prior, 1883, p. 32). This trait, though important, is more or less transient. Graecisms are most abundant in the translations, less frequent in the commentaries and comparatively scarce in the remaining works. This is doubtless the influence of Boethius's studies of Cicero. For example, see the table on page 139 under *quoniam*, *quia*, *quod*.

There is one further way in which the influence of translation made itself felt. Out of several modes of expressing a thought there would be a tendency for the translator to adopt one to the exclusion of the others, with the result that out of a number of synonyms one would prevail. The following table illustrates the point.

	1		
	Nam	Enim	Namque
Dial. ¹ in Por.	211	229	71
Interpr. Isag.	12	70	1
Com. ¹ in Por.	98	412	6
Interpr. Categ.	22	212	17
Com. in Categ.	212	636	125

¹ For convenience I adhere to the old terminology. See note on p. 155.

We see here that *namque* is frequent in the *Dialogi*; that it almost entirely lapses in the *Interpretatio Isagogae*, a fact which accounts for its rarity in the *Commentarii in Porphyrium*. It appears more frequently in the *Interpretatio Categoriarum*, a fact which accounts for its frequency in the corresponding commentary. The predominance of *enim* over *nam* in the translations explains the similar relation in the commentaries.

It will be observed that this tendency to use one synonym to the exclusion of its competitors makes for the unification of vocabulary. There is another feature of Boethius's style that makes for the opposite, that is, his evident striving after variety. This, next to the effects of translation, is the most marked characteristic of his style. A few of the innumerable examples I have collected will be enough to enforce the point; *a* (*ab*) with the ablative, the ablative alone, and *quam* are used after comparisons. Cf. *Com. in Ciceronis Topica*, p. 1101 A: minus est animal rationale a simpliciter animali. *Ibid.* c: animal maius est homine. *Ibid.*: minus est animal rationale quam proprie animal. Compare also the constructions after *duplus*. *De Arithmetica*, p. 162, 15: duplus a (*ab*). *Ibid.*, p. 141, 11: duplus ad. *Ibid.*, p. 165, 18: duplus with the ablative. *Com. in Categorias*, p. 218 B: duplus(*um*) with the genitive.

Item, rursus, amplius. *Com. in Ciceronis Topica*, p. 1166 A: Item, causarum aliae sunt non spontaneae. *Ibid.*: Rursus, causarum aliae sunt constantes. *Ibid.*: Amplius, causarum aliae sunt voluntariae.

Tamquam, quasi. *Com. in Porphyrium*, p. 91 c: Fieri autem potest ut res, . . . non quasi genus, sed *tamquam* species sub alio collocatur.

Quoniam with finite verb and accusative with infinitive in indirect discourse. *Editio Secunda περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, p. 362, 18 f.: Siquis dicat Socratem animal esse. Siquis praedicet quoniam Socrates bipes est.

Ac, atque, et, que. *Com. in Porphyrium*, p. 134 c: Itemque species ac differentia et proprium atque accidens.¹

Therefore, to sum up the foregoing points, any stylistic study of Boethius must take into account two marked influences on his style — his methods of translation and his desire for variety. The former influ-

¹ Further illustrations of this tendency may be noted in Engelbrecht's treatise on the style of the *Consolatio*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1901, pp. 15-36.

ence helps to account for the appearance and disappearance of certain usages; it tends to unification of vocabulary. Though important, it has in many cases only a transient effect. In contrast to this, the second influence—the evident aiming at variety—tends to diversity of diction.

Bearing in mind the foregoing facts, we are now ready to take up our chronological study of the writings of Boethius. Any such research must be based on the painstaking and masterly investigation¹ of Samuel Brandt. Utilizing all the references made by Boethius to his own writings, he has fixed beyond all question the chronology of most of the works. He has made out an almost complete framework, leaving now and then a gap of more or less uncertainty which, I hope, may be at least partly supplied by my investigations. Brandt divides the extant writings of Boethius into five classes and arranges them chronologically as follows: 1. Works on the quadrivium; *De Arithmetica*, *De Musica*, *De Geometria*. 2. Works on the principles of logic; *Dialogi in Porphyrium*, *Commentarii in Porphyrium*, *Commentarii in Categorias* (510 A.D.). 3. Further works on the principles of logic; *Editio Prior* περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, *Priora Analytica*, *De Syllogismis Categoricis*, *Editio Secunda* περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, *Introductio ad Syllogismos Categoricos*, *De Syllogismis Hypotheticis*, *De Divisione*, *Posteriora Analytica*. 4. Dialectic proof and its application to Rhetoric; *Aristotelis Topica*, *Sophistici Elenchi*, *Commentarii in Ciceronis Topica*, *De Differentiis Topicis*. Also, most probably, the *Opuscula Sacra*. 5. *Consolatio Philosophiae* (523/4).

Brandt's order is practically certain. I shall take issue with him only in regard to the works on the quadrivium and, possibly, the *De Syllogismis Categoricis*. In fact, I consider it the strongest corroboration of my method, that my conclusions are exactly the same as Professor Brandt's, except in the case of works concerning which there is a reasonable doubt. I hope also to place the *De Divisione* and *Introductio ad Syllogismos Categoricos* a little more definitely than Brandt has been able to do, and to confirm his reasoning as to the position of the *Posteriora Analytica* and *Sophistici Elenchi*.

It appears, therefore, that, excluding the treatises on the quadrivium, there are four classes of works, according to their chronology and

¹ *Entstehungszeit und zeitliche Folge der Werke von Boethius*, *Philologus*, LXII, pp. 141-154; 234-279. See also his edition of the Commentaries of Boethius on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, 1906, pp. xxvi ff., lxxix ff., and cf. below, p. 155.

subject matter. Taking the works the relative dates of which are positively known, I propose to show first that works of a given period markedly agree and that divergencies can be largely explained; if this is not the case, the whole method rests on a sandy foundation and discourages further inquiry. My results are presented in tables. In preparation of these I have noted innumerable stylistic phenomena, including all the conjunctions and particles in the writings of Boethius. I include here only such tests as have significance. In the case of particles not mentioned in my article, Boethius formed no habits which can serve the investigator.

The first class contains the following works: *Dialogi in Porphyrium*, *Commentarii in Porphyrium*, *Commentarii in Categorias*. The tables below will show how they agree in the use of certain particles. It will be noticed that the *Com. in Porphyrium* agrees now with the *Dialogi* and now with the *Com. in Categorias*. The reasons thereof will be explained in passing.

	2					3			
	pp. ¹	Vero	Sed	Autem	Quodsi	Que	Ac	Atque	Et
Dial. in Por.	57	257	192	147	28	173	11	154	908
Com. in Por.	73½	416	252	131	42	117	77	191	650
Com. in Categ.	113	489	500	277	53	214	29	296	1407

These particles show a fairly consistent use on the part of Boethius. *Ac* appears more frequently in the *Com. in Porphyrium* than we should expect. Still, as compared with *et*, its use is rare, whereas in the late periods it is much more frequent.

	4		
	Quidem-sed	Quidem-vero	Quidem-autem
Dial. in Por.	2	2	1
Com. in Por.	23	117	17
Com. in Categ.	35	80	16

As Rand has shown, the frequency of these correlatives in the two later works is due to the influence of translation, see above, p. 124 f.

	5		
	Itaque	Igitur	Ergo
Dial. in Por.	14	123	58
Com. in Por.	32	157	30
Com. in Categ.	1	129	139

¹ The pages are reckoned according to Migne. Allowance is made for tables, headings, etc.

Ergo is used more frequently in the *Com. in Categorias* than in the corresponding work on Porphyry. The preponderance in either case seems due to the influence of translation, as the following figures show.

		Igitur	Ergo
Interpr. Isag.		14	8
Interpr. Categ.		8	19

		6	
	Nam	Etenim	Enim
Dial. in Por.	211	5	229
Com. in Por.	98	5	412
Com. in Categ.	212	5	636

Enim has a heavy lead over *nam* in the two later works. Translation seems to be the cause. See p. 128.

		7		8
	Quoniam	Quod	Ideo	Idcirco
Dial. in Por.	120	76	39	17
Com. in Por.	159	158	13	65
Com. in Categ.	276	337	30	136

The influence of translation in the use of all these particles is direct and important. In witness of this, see the notes under the preceding tables and also compare the following :

		9		10		11
	Quoniam	Quod		Quare		Namque
Interpr. Isag.	16	5		5		1
Com. in Por.	159	158		5		6
Interpr. Categ.	4	239		35		17
Com. in Categ.	276	337		113		125

For *ideo* and *idcirco* see p. 126.

As we compare the works of this class we see that the agreements are not so striking as will appear in the remaining classes. This lack of agreement strongly corroborates my results ; for we expect the *Com. in Porphyrium* to show the influence of translation and hence to differ from the *Dialogi* ; we expect the *Com. in Categorias* to show still further influence of translation and to differ still more from the *Dialogi*.

I now take up the second class. The principal works are the *Prior* and *Secunda Editiones* περὶ Ἑρμηνείας. The tables explain themselves.

12						
	pp.	Rursus	Iterum	Item	Praeterea	Insuper
Prior . . .	86	125	2	1	1	0
Secunda . .	228	235	5	2	0	0

13			14			
Causal conjunctions			With clauses in indirect discourse			
	Quoniam	Quia	Quod	Quoniam	Quia	Quod
Prior . . .	138	29	112	109	3	6
Secunda . .	369	65	362	287	4	31

15			16		
	Quare	Quocirca	Enim	Nam	Namque
Prior . . .	93	27	473	113	55
Secunda . .	192	97	1249	277	126

17			18				
	Itaque	Igitur	Ergo	At vero	Vero	Sed	Autem
Prior . . .	3	98	121	5	142	286	253
Secunda . .	8	318	308	11	465	883	640

19				20		21		
	Que	Et	Ac	Atque	Quoque	Etiam	Ita	Sic
Prior . . .	121	900	15	90	126	60	91	39
Secunda . .	317	2225	45	286	478	211	384	93

22		23		24		
	Id est	Tamquam si	Ut si	Quidem sed	Quidem vero	Quidem autem
Prior . . .	123	31	33	44	34	21
Secunda . .	290	75	65	94	147	85

These are only a few of the tests that show the resemblance between these two works. Some one might say that the striking agreement in style as shown by these tables is due to the fact that the two works deal with the same subject. This is a factor, to be sure, but not necessarily a controlling one, as will be seen from a reference to the tables on p. 152. There it appears that the two works, the *Priora* and *Posteriora Analytica*, differ very materially, though the subject matter is such as to admit of similarities in usage; there is nothing inherent in the two that would necessitate the exclusive use, for example, of *rursus* in the one and *iterum* in the other. The differences noted on p. 152 are due no doubt to the fact that the works belong to different periods. Hence we see that works similar in nature need not necessarily show general agreement in stylistic peculiarities.

I now come to the third class. These are the *Com. in Ciceronis Topica* and the *De¹ Differentiis Topica*.

		25			26	
	pp.	Quare	Quocirca	Unde	Enim	Nam
Com. in Cic. Top. .	118	4	12	14	401	201
De Diff. Top. . . .	40	4	6	5	134	60

		27			28	
	Itaque	Igitur	Ergo	Rursus	Item	
Com. in Cic. Top. .	37	384	43	42	54	
De Diff. Top. . . .	15	98	3	20	18	

The reappearance of *item* and *itaque* may be due to the influence of Cicero, as the following figures indicate.

	Rursus	Item	Itaque	Igitur	Ergo
Top. Cic.	2	10	9	26	2

	29			30		
	Causal conjunctions			In indirect discourse		
	Quoniam	Quia	Quod	Quoniam	Quia	Quod
Com. in Cic. Top. .	148	118	152	1	0	2
De Diff. Top. . . .	46	24	51	2	0	0

	31			32	
	Autem	Sed	Vero	Quoque	Etiam
Com. in Cic. Top. .	142	392	581	154	202
De Diff. Top. . . .	73	116	219	52	49

	33				34	
	Que	Et	Ac	Atque	Ita	Sic
Com. in Cic. Top. .	312	698	131	310	192	24
De Diff. Top. . . .	77	272	70	93	67	9

	35			
	Quod si	Si vero	Si autem	Sed si
Com. in Cic. Top. .	37	6	2	7
De Diff. Top. . . .	13	2	0	5

¹ To this treatise Usener (*Anecdota Holderi*, p. 41) refers as "seinem (Boethius's) verhältnissmässig selbständigsten Werk." But Boethius's method here is really not different from that followed in his other technical treatises. He cites various passages from Cicero and comments on them in the usual fashion. Some of these come from the *De Inventione*. Compare *De Differentiis*, p. 1207 B-D, and *De Inventione*, 7, which deal with the three kinds of rhetoric; also *De Differentiis*, p. 1208 A:B, and *De Inventione*, 10, which treat of the five parts of rhetoric. It is also noteworthy that the introduction of the *De Differentiis*, pp. 1174-1176 D summarizes what has already been said in the two editions of *Περὶ Ἐμπνεύσεως*, in the *De Syllogismis*

A comparison of the preceding tables shows that works of a given period markedly agree in the use of certain particles—the only particles, be it remembered, which reveal any distinct stylistic tendencies in such works. The question now arises whether there is any marked disagreement in works of diverse times. The following tables are a sufficient answer.

		36	
<i>First Class</i>	pp.	Rursus	Item
Dial. in Por.	57	14	27
Com. in Por.	73	20	40
Com. in Categ.	113	72	4
<i>Second Class</i>			
Πεpl 'Εμμ. Ed. Prior . .	86	125	1
Πεpl 'Εμμ. Ed. Sec. . .	228	235	2
<i>Third Class</i>			
Com. in Cic.	118	42	54
De Differ. Top.	40	20	18
<i>Fourth Class</i>			
Consol. Philos.	46	3	1

In the use of *item* the *Com. in Categorias* shows an affinity with the works of the following class.

		37		
		With clauses in indirect discourse		
<i>First Class</i>	pp.	Quoniam	Quia	Quod
Dial. in Por.	57	3	0	15
Com. in Por.	73	9	0	10
Com. in Categ.	113	42	0	34
<i>Second Class</i>				
Πεpl 'Εμμ. Ed. Prior . .	86	109	3	6
Πεpl 'Εμμ. Ed. Sec. . .	228	287	4	31
<i>Third Class</i>				
Com. in Cic. Top. . . .	118	1	0	2
De Differ. Top.	40	2	0	0
<i>Fourth Class</i>				
Consol. Philos.		(1) ¹	0	(1) ¹

Categoricis, in the *Introductio ad Syllogismos Categoricos* and in the *De Syllogismis Hypotheticis*.

¹ *Consolatio Philosophiae*, 2, 4, 77, according to the manuscripts has the reading *manifestum est quin*. Migne reads *quod*. Rand would read *quoniam*. This conjecture would carry great weight if the book had been written ten years previously. As it is, however, such a correction is extremely doubtful.

Quia is used only in the second class. In the first class *quoniam* and *quod* are about even. In the second *quoniam* takes the lead. In the later classes the construction itself is practically abandoned.

		115	
<i>First Class</i>		Quocirca	Quare
Dial. in Por.	pp. 57	1	12
Com. in Por.	73	7	5
Com. in Categ.	113	122	113
<i>Second Class</i>			
Πεpl 'Εμμ. Ed. Prior . .	86	27	93
Πεpl 'Εμμ. Ed. Sec. . .	228	97	192
<i>Third Class</i>			
Com. in Cic. Top. . . .	118	12	4
De Diff. Top.	40	6	4
<i>Fourth Class</i>			
Consol. Philos.	46	0	26

Again the *Com. in Categorias* agrees with the following works.

		30		
<i>First Class</i>		Itaque	Igitur	Ergo
Dial. in Por.	pp. 57	14	123	58
Com. in Por.	73	32	157	30
Com. in Categ.	113	1	129	139
<i>Second Class</i>				
Πεpl 'Εμμ. Ed. Prior . .	86	3	98	121
Πεpl 'Εμμ. Ed. Sec. . .	228	8	318	308
<i>Third Class</i>				
Com. in Cic. Top. . . .	118	37	384	43
De Diff. Top.	40	15	98	3
<i>Fourth Class</i>				
Consol. Philos.	46	17	152	0 ¹

Itaque and *ergo* connect the *Com. in Categorias* with the second class.

		40					
<i>First Class</i>		pp.	Que ²	Et	Ac	Atque	
Dial. in Por.	57	173	.19	908	1.	11	.01
Com. in Por.	73	117	.18	650	1.	77	.12
Com. in Categ.	113	214	.15	1407	1.	29	.02
						296	.21

¹ I have not included the *Carmina*, which contain two instances of *ergo*.

² Following the method of Lutoslawski, I have taken the most important of a series of synonyms, e.g. *et*, as the basis of comparison rather than their sum total, that the relation between the several particles may be most patent to the eye.

40									
<i>Second Class</i>	pp.	Que		Et		Ac		Atque	
			%		%		%		%
Περὶ 'Εμμ. Ed. Prior	86	121	.13	900	1.	15	.01	90	.10
Περὶ 'Εμμ. Ed. Sec.	228	317	.14	2225	1.	45	.02	286	.12
<i>Third Class</i>									
Com. in Cic. Top. .	118	312	.44	698	1.	131	.18	310	.44
De Diff. Top. . . .	40	77	.28	272	1.	70	.25	93	.34
<i>Fourth Class</i>									
Consol. Philos. . . .	46	286	1.90	150	1.	55	.36	94	.62

Generally speaking, *que*, *ac*, *atque*, as compared with *et*, appear more frequently in the later works.

Without taking space for tables I may also say that *tamquam si* is a marked feature of the second class. It is found therein at least 110 times. In all the other works put together the amount is less than ten. It is also noteworthy that *autem* far outstrips *vero* in the second class, but earlier and later it falls far behind that particle. This variation is due to translation. For after the *Interpretatio Isagogae*, *autem* is far in the ascendancy.

A glance at the preceding tables will show that the various periods have striking divergencies. It will be noticed that the works of the first period agree with each other less strikingly than the others. This was to have been expected. Boethius was a young man at the time and his style was readily susceptible of change. Furthermore, the influence of translation is apparent here. There are few traces of such influence in the first work, presumably because our author has not yet entered deeply into his Greek studies. The second work, the *Com. in Porphyrium*, may be looked upon as transitional in style. The influence of the Greek is making itself strongly felt. The third work shows the influence of translation in full sway. This conclusion has a radical bearing on our whole treatment. Hereafter I shall no longer follow Brandt in classifying the works of Boethius according to subject matter, but shall use the system which my results seem to demand — a classification according to stylistic peculiarities.

The comprehensive tabular view which follows will show that there are four main classes into which the works of Boethius may be grouped. These classes are clearly distinguished, and yet, in certain details, as is natural, adjoining classes shade into each other.

	pp.	Quidem-sed	Quidem-vero	Quidem-autem	Itaque	Igitur	Ergo	Que	Et	Ac	Atque
<i>First Class</i>								%	%	%	%
Dial. in Por.	57	2	2	1	14	123	58	173	.19	908	1. 11 .01 154 .16
Com. in Por.	73	23	117	17	32	157	30	117	.18	650	1. 77 .12 191 .29
De Arith.	71	10	24	6	3	105	52	212	.22	924	1. 17 .01 133 .15
<i>Second Class</i>											
Com. in Categ. . . .	113	35	80	16	1	129	139	214	.15	1407	1. 29 .02 296 .21
Περί 'Εμμ. Ed. Prior .	86	44	34	21	3	98	121	121	.13	900	1. 15 .01 90 .10
De Syllog. Categ. ¹ . .	30	3	0	1	2	119	30	25	.06	398	1. 10 .02 18 .04
Περί 'Εμμ. Ed. Sec. .	228	93	147	85	8	318	308	317	.14	2225	1. 45 .02 286 .12
<i>Transition from Second to Third Class</i>											
De Divisione	15	2	12	18	0	22	15	19	.10	177	1. 4 .02 15 .08
Introd. ad Syl. Cat. .	26	13	42	13	3	52	5	52	.39	133	1. 34 .25 71 .53
De Syllog. Hypoth. .	42	8	79	13	12	243	5	39	.14	270	1. 27 .10 62 .22
<i>Third Class</i>											
De Musica	89	14	90	22	11	412	12	320	.51	621	1. 243 .39 220 .35
Com. in Cic. Top. . .	118	17	112	21	37	384	43	312	.44	698	1. 131 .18 310 .44
De Differ. Top. . . .	40	9	63	15	15	98	3	77	.28	272	1. 70 .25 93 .34
De Trinitate	6½	4	5	0	0	16	1	19	.46	41	1. 15 .35 18 .43
Pater et Filius . . .	1½	1	1	0	0	7		3		9	7 0
Quomodo Substant. .	3	0	2	0	1	23		13		17	0 2
Eutych. et Nest. . .	14½	2	17	0	2	31	3	68	.70	97	1. 18 .18 59 .61
Consol. Philos. . . .	46	26	38	5	17	152	0	286	1.90	150	1. 55 .36 94 .62
(De Fide Cath.) . .	5				9	1	8	19		39	9 22

¹ I leave this work here for convenience. See discussion on pp. 140-144, 155.

Namque	Namque postpositive	Nam	Enim	At vero	At vero si	Quemadmodum	Quasi	Quocirca	Quare	Quo	Quo fit	Porro	Porro autem	Quoniam	Quia	Quod	Ita	Sic	Rursus	Item
71	7	211	229	44	6	13	11	1	12	0	0	24	24	3	0	15	78	43	14	27
8	4	98	412	22	1	3	14	7	5	12	12	0	0	9	0	10	150	9	20	40
62	6	85	292	25	9	42	7	0	18	0	0	3	3	0	0	6	57	37	108	8
125	79	212	636	19	5	22	12	122	113	0	0	2	1	42	0	34	150	31	72	4
55	49	113	473	5	1	18	3	27	93	0	0	0	0	109	3	6	91	39	125	1
12	0	91	159	3	0	3	5	0	3	0	0	1	1	12	3	14	30	40	5	34
126	107	277	1249	11	2	63	33	97	192	0	0	2	2	287	4	31	384	93	235	2
15	14	17	75	0	0	1	7	4	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	17	13	25	1
17	13	47	101	0	0	0	4	6	4	5	5	0	0	0	0	1	26	3	9	29
26	18	115	181	9	1	0	3	26	4	20	18	0	0	6	19	4	153	19	26	26
17	7	76	223	3	0	4	36	21	2	6	6	0	0	10	1	0	120	10	99	43
56	47	201	401	15	0	1	37	12	4	25	25	2	1	1	0	2	192	24	42	54
9	8	60	134	3	0	0	19	6	4	4	4	0	0	2	0	0	67	9	20	18
2	0	20	41	0	0	2	13	2	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	19	1	6	3
0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
0	0	4	15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
0	0	19	63	0	0	0	7	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	0	5	4
16	16	81	116	2	0	0	19	0	26	13	13	2	1	(1)	0	0	79	22	3	1
0	0	1	3	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	3	0

The classes presented in the preceding table are as follows :

First Class.—Works in which the influence of translation is little felt, as the *Dial. in Porphyrium*, or in which such influence is manifesting itself, as the *Com. in Porphyrium*. I call this the transitional period.

Second Class.—The influence of translation is paramount; *Com. in Categorias*, *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, *Editio Prior* and *Editio Secunda*. I call this the Greek period.

Third Class.—Works in which the influence of Cicero is felt; *Com. in Cic. Topica*, *De Differentiis Topicis*. I call this the Ciceronian period.

Fourth Class.—*Consolatio Philosophiae*.

Since these classes are clearly defined, it remains only to fit in the somewhat less certain works, most of which Brandt has placed to a greater or less degree of certainty. Of these the *De Syllogismis Categoricis* seems to go between the two *Editiones* *περὶ Ἑρμηνείας* and after the *Prior Analytica*. The *Introductio ad Syllogismos Categoricos* was written after the *Prior Editio*. Whether it antecedes the *De Syllogismis Categoricis* Brandt cannot determine. The *De Syllogismis Hypotheticis* follows the *Editio Secunda* and precedes the *Commentarii in Ciceronis Topica*. The *De Divisione* was written before the *De Differentiis Topicis* and probably after the works on interpretation.

Practically every test in the preceding table shows that the *De Divisione* is transitional between the works of the second and third periods.

The rarity of *quidem . . . autem, ergo, quoniam, quia, quod, sic*, and the frequency of *que, ac, atque, quo, quo fit* ally the *Introductio ad Syllogismos Categoricos* with the third period. Hence I place it later than the second edition of *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*. The same may be said of the *De Syllogismis Hypotheticis*.

The *De Syllogismis Categoricis* is a peculiar work. The most cursory perusal will show that the book is *sui generis* among the writings of Boethius. It is characterized by a marked paucity of stylistic phenomena and by a brevity strained to the utmost. In fact, at first sight it might appear that this work is the breviarium referred to on p. 251, ll. 9–15, of the second edition of *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*. Brandt (*Entstehungszeit*, p. 257) has exploded this theory. His conclusion is strengthened by the character of the introduction of the *De Syllogismis Categoricis*. This proœmium is elaborate and by no means leads us to anticipate the brevity of the body of the work. After the elaborate

introduction come a few words that furnish a clue to the style to be expected (M., p. 794 C-D): *inchoandum nobis est illo prius depulso periculo ne a quoquam sterilis culpetur oratio. Non enim eloquentiae compositiones sed planitiem consecramur: qua in re si hoc efficitur quamlibet incompte loquentes intentio quoque nostra nobis perfecta est.*

Sterilis and *incompte* are terms particularly applicable to the style of the work in question. A good example of the former quality is seen in the way Boethius employs illustrations. To illustrate a declarative sentence, we find, *De Syllogismis Categoricalis*, p. 797 B: *Socrates ambulat.* With this it is interesting to compare the *Introductio ad Syllogismos Categoricalis*, p. 767 B, where to illustrate the same kind of sentence we find Virgil's words:

Est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis
Fistula.

How applicable *incompte* is to the style of our work is shown from the following, — not that the usages are found exclusively in this work, but that they are so frequent as to be particularly noticeable.

The preposition *ad* appears very often in the sense of *secundum*; p. 799 B: *ad quantitatem* (cf. p. 800 D: *secundum quantitatem*); p. 799 C: *ad eundem ordinem*; p. 797 A: *ad placitum* (cf. p. 795 C: *secundum placitum*).

The constructions with *participo* are also noteworthy, p. 799 A: *participat ad utrosque terminos*; with *in* and the ablative, p. 798 C; with the ablative alone, p. 798 C; with the dative and the ablative after *in*, p. 798 C: *in nullo sibi participantes.* In the *Dialogi in Porphyrium* we find the genitive, e. g., p. 62 A: *sui participari*; the accusative alone in the *Interpretatio Aristotelis Topicorum*, p. 945 B: C; also the preposition *a* (*ab*) with ablative, *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, *Ed. Sec.*, p. 18, l. 17.

Another unusual construction is *abundo* with the ablative in comparison, p. 804 B: *homine animal abundat*; with this compare *Dialogi in Porphyrium*, p. 35 C: *maius est animal ab homine.*

Again within a short compass we have five instances of such an unusual collocation as *aequale est ac si diceret (dicas)*, p. 807 D f.

Another striking fact in the style of the *De Syllogismis Categoricalis* is the rarity of the *quidem . . . sed, vero, autem* correlatives. In fact, on first sight the seeming rarity of the equivalents for the Greek *μὲν*

. . . δέ might lead us seriously to question the validity of applying the stylistic method to Boethius at all, if indeed the work in question were not so abnormal in many ways. This irregularity manifests itself particularly in conciseness of diction, as has already been shown. Though this trait would account for the rarity of the *quidem* constructions, yet, even as it is, we find several instances. Brandt (*Boethii in Isagogen Porphyrii Commenta*, Leipzig, 1906, p. lxxxix) has enumerated these, as follows, *quidem* . . . *autem* once and *quidem* . . . *sed* three times. These are far fewer than one might expect, yet he would be rash indeed who would throw over the entire method when it fails in a work so abnormal as the *De Syllogismis Categoricalis*. The peculiar style of this work has struck the attention of others besides myself. Rocco Murari (*Dante e Boezio*, Bologna, 1905, p. 92), who has made a careful study of our author, is so impressed with the difficulties involved in the attempt to reconcile the character of the *De Syllogismis Categoricalis* with that of Boethius's other works, that he cuts the Gordian knot by declaring the first book of the *De Syllogismis Categoricalis* to be spurious. He thinks the second book of the *De Syllogismis Categoricalis* belongs to the *Introductio ad Syllogismos Categoricalis*, considering the first book a mediaeval abridgment of the *Introductio*. I had already noticed that the second book of the *De Syllogismis Categoricalis* closely resembled the *Introductio*; e. g. *praedico* with *de* and the ablative is very frequent in the second book of the *De Syllogismis Categoricalis*. This is the regular construction in the *Introductio*, whereas in the first book of the *De Syllogismis Categoricalis*, *praedico* appears very often with *in* and the ablative, *ad* and the accusative, only twice with *de* and the ablative. Other resemblances are as follows:

	pp.	Igitur	Ergo	Sicut	Ut si	Quasi
De Syllog. Categ. lib. II . .	16	96	9	8	6	4
Introd. ad Syllog. Categ. . .	26	52	5	4	14	4
	Quare	Unde	Quoque	Etiam	Quod si	Vero
De Syllog. Categ. lib. II . .	3	3	23	11	2	81
Introd. ad Syllog. Categ. . .	4	2	39	16	6	119
	Sed	Autem	Causal conjunctions			
			Quoniam	Quia	Quod	
De Syllog. Categ. lib. II . .	52	29	31	4	16	
Introd. ad Syllog. Categ. . .	67	58	33	8	31	

The rarity of the *quidem* collocations still calls for comment (the one instance of *quidem* . . . *autem* occurs in Book II), but perhaps it is due to the fact that fully one half of the book, which contains but 22 columns of Migne in all, is taken up with model syllogisms; these and the preceding and accompanying comment seem hardly to call for the construction at all. It might occur oftener than it does, but the case is not paralleled by the *Dialogi in Porphyrium*, which in 62 columns (57 with allowances for figures, etc.) has only 5 instances of *quidem* . . . *sed*, *vero*, or *autem*.

Further, if we may, for the moment, accept Murari's conjecture, exclude Book I as spurious, and consider Book II as contemporaneous with the *Introductio*, certain tendencies to which my statistics point, appear in clearer light. *Ergo*, *enim*, *item* now show a continuous development. Beginning with the *De Arithmetica* and continuing through the second book of the *De Syllogismis Categoricalis*, *quoque* outnumbers *etiam* two to one; from the *De Syllogismis Hypotheticis* the relation is reversed. In the first and third periods *vero* surpasses *sed* at least two to one; in the second period the relation is reversed.

I hesitate to accept Murari's view, although it harmonizes so well with my results, until the whole question has been investigated again, and the oldest manuscripts of the *De Syllogismis* have been collated.¹ The theory must confront, first of all, Brandt's very probable demonstration (*op. cit.*, p. 245) that the work contains too many additions to be an excerpt from the *Introductio*. But why could it not be an excerpt from a lost work on the same subject, the existence of which Brandt proves (p. 259) — the *Categorica Institutio*? And, further, why is not this work (referred to variously as *Categorica Institutio*, *De Praedicativis Syllogismis*, *De Categoricalis Syllogismis*) the original pro-

¹ The title of the work in one book is given in a number of the earlier manuscripts as *Liber Ante Praedicamenta*; e. g. Valenciennes 406, S. IX/X; Munich 6372, S. X/XI (ANTE PERIERMENIAS); Orléans 267, S. X/XI; Chartres 100, S. XI. The work in two books, on the contrary, often bears the title which appears in the editions for that in one book, i. e. *Liber Introductionis in Categoricalis Syllogismos*. Cf. besides the preceding, Munich 6370, S. X; Chartres 74, S. X. The title *de Categoricalis Syllogismis* (or the like) appears in various later manuscripts (e. g. Orléans 265, S. XIV), none earlier than Tours 676, S. XII/XIII. This array of witnesses, though by no means complete, warrants the suspicion that our printed text derives from a late and inferior source.

duction that appeared between the first and second editions of the commentary on *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*? Such a work, just as Brandt suggests, would treat the subject somewhat more fully than the *Introductio* or the extant *De Categoricalis Syllogismis*, although it did not exceed the limits of *duo libelli* (M., p. 833 B). In that case, the *Introductio* may be after all the *breviarium* of which Boethius speaks (Meis., II, 251, 8), just as Usener surmised (Brandt, p. 258). But, apart from these possibilities, as it seems clear from other grounds than those presented by me that Book I is an abnormal affair, whether written by Boethius or not, I feel justified in excluding it from our present consideration. Granting the abnormality of the work, the evidence offered therein on matters of usage, so far from overthrowing the evidence of stylistic tests, becomes a remarkable attestation of its validity; such exceptions are of the kind that prove the rule.

It may now be well to summarize the preceding points. Checking my results by Brandt's conclusions and proceeding on the basis that works of a given time agree and works of diverse times disagree, I would place in the following order the works already treated.

Transitional Period: *Dialogi in Porphyrium*; *Com. in Porphyrium*. Greek Period: *Com. in Categorias* (510 A.D.); *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, *Ed. Prior*; *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, *Ed. Sec.*; *De Divisione*; *Introductio ad Syllogismos Categoricalis*; *De Syllogismis Categoricalis*, lib. II (lib. I possibly spurious); *De Syllogismis Hypotheticis*. Ciceronian Period: *Com. in Ciceronis Topica*; *De Differentiis Topicis*. Last Period: *Consolatio Philosophiae*.

Thus far, leaving out the abnormal *De Syllogismis Categoricalis*, my results corroborate the facts adduced by Professor Brandt. If my method is substantiated in the case of undisputed works, may we not with confidence apply it to the rest? The most important of these are the *De Arithmetica* and the *De Musica*. To make clear the position of these works, it will be necessary, test by test, to show from the tabular view the relationships and differences of the various works and classes. That such tests might be found Professor Rand was the first to observe (*Traktat De Fide Catholica*, p. 436). He noticed that collocations with *quidem* were a marked feature of works later than the *Dialogi in Porphyrium*. This usage seemed to arise from the habit our author had of turning *μὲν . . . δέ* by *quidem . . . sed, vero, autem*. Rand found this usage well established in the works on the quadrivium.

Hence he argued that these works were later than the *Dialogue*. Comparing the use of the conjunctions *itaque*, *igitur*, *ergo*, he was also disposed to deny the authorship of the *De Fide* to Boethius. Professor Brandt (*Entstehungszeit*, pp. 146 f.) thought that the stylistic method, to have value, must be based upon the many references of our author to his own works. As Brandt himself has furnished us this basis for our investigation, I propose now to supplement Professor Rand's work by including many more tests. Referring to the table on pp. 138 f., I will take each test separately and show in detail its place in the general scheme.

The *quidem* collocations are rare in the *Dialogi*. Hence works that show the frequent use of them will be expected to belong to a period later than that work.

Itaque is rare during the second period.

Ergo is frequent in the first period, in the second vies with *igitur*, and later almost disappears.

Que and *ac* are far more frequent in the third than in earlier periods. The same may be said of *atque*.

Namque appears less and less frequently. It is rarely postpositive at first, later usually so.

Nam is as frequent as *enim* only in the *Dialogi*. Why the latter particle outstripped the former is shown above, p. 128.

At vero is frequent only in the early works. The same is true of *at vero si*.

Quemadmodum is very frequent in the first two periods, but later is hardly found at all.

Quasi is frequent from the end of the second period.

Quocirca and *quare* are frequent in the second period, which fact is due to translation. (See above, p. 132). *Quo fit* and *quo* in the sense of therefore, except for an eccentric appearance in the commentary on Porphyry, date from the transition between the second period and the third. *Porro* and *porro autem* are frequent only in the *Dialogi*. The *quoniam*, *quia*, *quod* clauses are frequent only during the Greek period. *Sic* as compared with *ita* is rare in the third period. *Item*, except for the abnormal *De Syllogismis Categoricalis*, is rare in the second period.

Now we are ready to apply these tests to the *De Arithmetica* and the *De Musica*. Professor Brandt considers that they belong together

and must be accounted the first of Boethius's extant writings. He does this, relying upon a seemingly plain statement of our author to that effect in *De Arithmetica*, p. 5, ll. 19-24: Recte ergo, quasi aureos Cereri culmos et maturos Baccho palmites sic ad te *novi operis* rudimenta transmissi. Tu tantum paterna gratia nostrum provehas munus. *Ita et laboris mei primitias* doctissimo iudicio consecrabis et non maiore censebitur auctor merito quam probator. *Primitias* seems to imply that this was the maiden effort of Boethius, *novi operis* referring to the recent accomplishment of the work. Still, as Professor Rand has pointed out, these words need imply only that our author has begun a new task.

As to Brandt's contention that these works come first and go together, a glance at the tabular view, pp. 138 f., will show that they do not belong to the same period. Instead of resembling each other in most stylistic criteria, as the other works of a given period do, they markedly disagree. Professor Brandt in a personal letter has suggested that this disagreement is due to the fact that the sources of the two works are different, for as has been shown, the sources have a marked influence on the style of a work. I had already noticed that with a new subject new words and constructions would come in, e. g. *Dico quia*, *De Musica*, p. 303, 4; *Pone*, *De Arithmetica*, p. 78, 30: 79, 7:14. These criteria, however, are not the kind on which I rely, criteria such that when they have started, appear on almost every page of a work, e. g. *et*, *autem*, etc. Furthermore, if Professor Brandt's suggestion holds, we should find the diction in the two works very uneven, for their sources are manifold. The following tables will show that the use of a given particle in either work is fairly consistent. In each work the first sum under a given word, e. g. *autem*, is the total number of times it appears in the whole work. The figure just under is the number of times that word is found in the first half of the book.

	42									
	Ac	At	Atque	Autem	Enim	Et	Etiam	Igitur	Ita	Nam
De Arith. . . .	17	36	133	203	292	924	54	105	57	85
	12	17	76	102	146	441	24	51	26	39
De Musica . .	243	11	220	170	223	621	71	412	120	76
	155	1	105	66	91	277	43	171	61	38

I have chosen these criteria alphabetically. The figures are fairly constant. Hence I conclude that stylistic divergencies in the two works are not due to diverse sources.

I come now to the other of Professor Brandt's contentions, namely, that the works on the quadrivium are the earliest of Boethius' extant writings. I had accepted this as the true view all the while that my material was collecting. When I began to study my results it was borne home to me that the *De Musica* was about as different as could well be from the *Dialogi*, which must have followed it within a few months if Brandt is correct. A glance at the tabular view (pp. 138 f.) will enforce this divergence. Cf. also these tables.

		43							
		pp.	At	Nam si		Etiam si		Quemad-	
			%	%				modum ¹	
								</	

Quoniam, quia, quod in clauses of indirect discourse place it before the full Greek period.

Sic places it before the third period.

Rursus places it later than the *Dialogi*.

Item allies it with the second period.

There is a further criterium which has a strong bearing on the date of our work, i. e. the expression of the definite article, e. g. τὸ τρέχειν = id quod est currere. I have treated this at length above, pp. 126 f. This idiom does not occur in the *Dialogi*, nor in the *Com. in Porphyrium*, nor in the *De Arithmetica*. It begins with the *Interpretatio Isagogæ* and the *Com. in Categorias*. After that it is found in all the important works and especially in the *De Musica*. As has been shown above, the appearance of this construction is due to translation.

Therefore, taking all these criteria into consideration, I conclude that the *De Arithmetica* was written after the influence of translation began to make itself felt and before it became paramount, that is, just before the *Com. in Categorias*.

Now for the *De Musica*. The *quidem* collocations place it later than the *Dialogi*. The same may be said of *enim* as compared with *nam*. So also of *porro, porro autem*. *Namque, namque* postpositive, *at vero, at vero si, quocirca* put it later than the first class. So also the definite article (see above, pp. 126 f.). *Ergo, que, et, ac, atque, quemadmodum, quasi, quare, quo fit, quoniam, quia, quod*, and *sic* compared with *ita* place it later than the second class. *Rursus* puts it later than the *Dialogi*. *Item* allies it with the third period. Accordingly, on the basis of these facts, I conclude that the *De Musica* was written after the transitional period and probably along with the works on the *Topica*.

I turn now to the *De Geometria*. As regards the authenticity of this work much has been said pro and con. For my purpose the most suggestive of the writers on this subject is Professor Rand; for taking a hint from his tests, that is, the *quidem* collocations and *itaque, igitur, ergo*, he conjectured that the *Interpretatio* was by Boethius and that the *Ars* was spurious. Georgius Ernst in his interesting article entitled, *De Geometricis illis quæ sub Boethii nomine nobis tradita sunt quaestiones*, 1903, agrees with Professor Rand.

My collations confirm the conclusions of these scholars. The following tables show my results.

	44		45		
	Quidem-vero	Quidem-autem	Igitur	Ergo	Itaque
De Geom. Inter.	5	3	21	1	1
Ars	0	0	19	12	6

All illative particles in the *Ars* are found only in the postpositive position, a phenomenon appearing elsewhere only in the *De Fide Catholica*, if indeed that is to be attributed to Boethius.

If the *Ars* is by Boethius, Brandt, to be consistent with his argument in regard to the position of the *De Musica* (see below, pp. 155 f.), would hold that the *Ars* immediately follows the *De Musica*. They are too divergent in style, however, to admit of this possibility. Cf. these tables:

	pp.	Que	Et	Ac	Atque
De Musica	89	320	621	243	220
Ars	18	33	103	3	2

	Quare	Quapropter	Quo	Unde	Quocirca
De Musica	2	0	6	15	21
Ars	0	1	0	0	0

With the exception of *quapropter*, particles of this sort are not found in the *Ars*.

	Namque	Nam	Etenim	Enim
De Musica	17	76	7	223
Ars	1	2	8	11

Etenim in the *Ars* is always postpositive. This is not true in the case of the genuine works.

	Hoc est	Id est	Ut	Quoque	Etiam
De Musica	0	171	105	59	71
Ars	17	61	1	1	11

	51		
	Causal conjunctions		
	Quoniam	Quia	Quod
De Musica	149	10	93
Ars	5	9	0

There are many other words that strike the eye in the *Ars* which are almost entirely wanting in the genuine works, e. g.:

Esto age 5	Esto modo 1	Qua de re 1
Hoc pacto 4	Protinus 2	Videlicet 10
Modo with subj. . 6	Ob id 1	Imprimis 3

Hence, if the *Ars* is to be ascribed to Boethius, it is abnormal in the extreme.

This divergence in style is seen also in a comparison of the ways in which the *Ars* and the undisputed works introduce illustrations, demonstrations, tables, e. g. *Ars*, p. 401, 11 f.: ut subiecta docet formula. There are twenty-eight such illustrations in the *Ars*. Of these only two are introduced in the same way. In the undisputed works the number is ninety; of these more than half are used twice at least. Moreover, these collocations are much more wordy in the *Ars* than in the undisputed works. Also only one¹ used in the *Ars* is found in the undisputed works, whereas more than half of those used in any of the undisputed works are met in the other writings. This fact is not due to any difference in the subject matter; for the words of which the collocations are formed are identical. The difference is due to the fact that they are more involved in the *Ars*. The following will illustrate. Cf. *De Arte Geometrica*, p. 419, 7 f.: ut infra scripta perspici potest in forma, and *De Musica*, p. 275, 25: id patefaciet subiecta descriptio. In the *Ars*, the introductory word is usually a pronoun, adverb, participle, or verb, e. g. in the preceding, *infra*, an adverb, is the word that refers to the following figure. The adverb furnishes 40% of the instances in the *Ars*, but only 3% in the undisputed works. In the undisputed works the pronoun is the favorite, supplying 50% of the instances. In the *Ars* the percentage is only 16½.

As for participles, the same words appear in both the *Ars* and the undisputed works, but in the *Ars* the oblique cases prevail over the nominative, whereas in the genuine writings the reverse is true. Taking all these facts into consideration, I am inclined, therefore, to believe that Boethius did not write the *Ars*.

¹ *Ars*, p. 392, 4: ut subiecta descriptio monet, cf. *De Musica*, p. 246, 27. Even this solitary instance occurs in one of the three demonstrations which probably are excerpts from the *Ars* of Boethius.

Now what about the *Interpretatio*? Though the available tests are necessarily few, yet what few there are go to show that it was excerpted, at least, from Boethius, as Professor Rand has conjectured.

The first test that merits attention is this. Boethius's method of translation, that is, literal transference — see above, p. 124 — is much in evidence. Here are some examples. *De Geometria*, p. 390, 25.: quod oportebat facere (ὅπερ ἔδει ποιῆσαι); cf. Heiberg¹: quod oportebat fieri. Again, p. 386, 5: dupla sunt his quadratis (διπλάσια ἐστι τοῦ . . . τετραγώνου); cf. Heiberg, duplo maiora sunt quadrato.

Again ἀλλήλων is turned by *invicem*, as is the custom with Boethius. διὰ τό is turned by *propter quod hoc*, a phrase very common in Boethius; see above, p. 126. Such constructions are wanting in the *Ars*.

In leaving the *De Geometria*, I conclude, therefore, that the *Interpretatio* is probably genuine and that the *Ars*, with the exception of the demonstrations, pp. 390–92 (see Ernst, p. 24), is almost certainly spurious.

Turning from the *Interpretatio Euclidis* to the other translations, I shall not need to discuss the *Isagoge*, *Categoriae*, and περὶ Ἑρμηνείας; for their respective commentaries determine their dates. Of the remainder, the following tables show that the *Aristotelis Topica* and *Sophistici Elenchi* go very closely together, even as Brandt has argued.

		52			53		
		Causal conjunctions			In indirect discourse		
	pp.	Quoniam	Quia	Quod	Quoniam	Quia	Quod
Aris. Top.	95	50	102	131	159	2	182
Soph. Elench. . .	30	16	23	31	24	0	56
		54			55		
	Rursus and rursum	Amplius		Namque	Nam		Enim
Aris. Top.	73	120		1	585		525
Soph. Elench. . .	14	22		0	175		106
		56			57		
	Vero	Sed	Autem	Itaque	Igitur		Ergo
Aris. Top.	127	206	1191	3	144		34
Soph. Elench. . .	62	126	401	1	84		11
		58			59		
	Quo	Unde	Quocirca	Quare	Quidem sed	Quidem vero	Quidem autem
Aris. Top.	0	1	2	171	1	58	305
Soph. Elench. . .	0	1	0	50	2	20	97

¹ Heiberg et Menge, *Euclidis Opera*, I, p. 13, 17.

Therefore the *Sophistici Elenchi* probably followed close upon the heels of the *Topica*.

The following tables will lead to the opposite conclusion in regard to the two *Analytica*.

	Rursus 60				61		
	pp. and	rursum	Iterum	Amplius	Itaque	Igitur	Ergo
Priora Anal. . . .	70	97	1	31	2	81	271
Post. Anal. . . .	47	0	35	35	21	161	37

	62		63	
	Namque	Nam	Enim	Eo quod
Priora Anal. . . .	0	247	484	53
Post. Anal. . . .	18	3	407	5

	64			65		
	With indirect discourse					
	Quoniam	Quia	Quod	Sed si	Si autem	Si vero
Priora Anal. . . .	319	2	8	9	8	141
Post. Anal. . . .	88	61	140	7	24	18

	66			
	Ut	Sicut	Quemadmodum	Tanquam
Priora Anal. . . .	219	2	37	1
Post. Anal. . . .	181	69	2	16

It is clear that these two works differ materially. Professor Brandt has shown that the former was translated before the *De Syllogismis Categoricalis* appeared and probably later than the *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, *Editio Prior*. The *Posteriora* preceded the *Com. in Ciceronis Topica*. From the preceding tables it will appear that there was a considerable lapse of time between the two *Analytica*, bringing the *Posteriora* into line perhaps with the *Aristotelis Topica* and *Sophistici Elenchi*. This supposition is confirmed by one striking stylistic peculiarity, namely, the use of *utique*, in several of the translations, to express the particle *ἄν*. This usage appears not at all in the *Isagoge*, once in the *Categoriae*, not at all in the *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, once in the *Priora Analytica*, but seventy-five times in the *Posteriora*, twenty-four in Aristotle's *Topica*, and five in the *Sophistici Elenchi*. I conclude, therefore, that there is an intimate connection between the three latter works.

The *Opuscula Sacra* are too brief definitely to be placed by our method. I think, therefore, that Professor Rand was a little hasty in denying the *De Fide* to Boethius when he based his argument, in part, on dissimilarity in style. It is true, we find more instances of *itaque*

than we should expect and, what is even more significant, this particle is always postpositive, a condition not elsewhere exemplified in Boethius save in the spurious *Ars Geometria*. Yet we find some marked Boethian traits, e. g. *De Fide*, l. 42, *ut quia*, cf. *ut quoniam*, *Introductio ad Syllogismos Categoricalis*, p. 774 B, *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, *Ed. Sec.*, p. 90, 29. This collocation arises from the Greek; cf. *Aristotelis Topica*, 955 B, C and often: *οὖν ἐπεὶ* = *ut quia*. It is also worthy of notice that Boethius and the author of the *De Fide* arrange their material in a similar fashion; *hactenus* is a favorite word with which to conclude a paragraph. Therefore, relying merely on stylistic grounds I should hesitate to deny the *De Fide* to Boethius.

In regard to the other *Opuscula* suffice it to say that a comparison of the criteria in the tabular view would seem to place them later than the second period. If so, the date¹ 512, before which the fifth could not well have been written, is corroborated. There is nothing in my results to substantiate the view of Usener² and others that the *Opuscula Sacra* are merely youthful exercises of Boethius.

Having thus traversed the whole series of Boethius's extant writings, I may briefly recapitulate the results of this examination. The so-called stylistic method is a recognized form of investigation, applied notably in the case of Plato. In any stylistic study of Boethius two traits must be taken into account. There is, first, the influence of translation on his style. Translation tends to explain new phenomena in style. It tends to unification of vocabulary. Its influence is more transient than one might anticipate. The second trait is Boethius's marked desire for variety.

Bearing these influences in mind and basing my study on Professor Brandt's researches as a framework, I have shown that works of a given period agree and works of a different period disagree. Then I classified them stylistically, giving up Professor Brandt's classification, based on subject matter. I have shown that my criteria fit in exactly with all the arguments, inductive and deductive, that Professor Brandt has formulated. Barring the dubious *De Syllogismis Categoricalis*, the sole exception is offered by the works on the quadrivium. There is a reasonable doubt concerning the place of these works. If my criteria have stood

¹ Hildebrand, *Boethius und seine Stellung zum Christentume*, 1885, p. 249 ff.

² *Anecdota Holderi*, p. 54 f. See Rand, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

the test in other respects may we not with confidence rely on them to place the *De Arithmetica* and *De Musica*? Doing so, I have shown that these two works manifestly disagree; that this disagreement is not necessarily due to a difference in subject matter and that it cannot be attributed to a difference in sources. I have also shown that the *De Musica* differs too much from the *Dialogi* immediately to precede it. Following my tests, I have placed the *De Arithmetica* at the close of the transitional period and the *De Musica* in the third period.

As to other works, the peculiar style of the *De Syllogismis Categoricalis* is not such as to endanger the whole fabric of my argument, whether we call Book I spurious and Book II a part of the *Introductio ad Syllogismos Categoricalis*, or see in the work as it stands a sort of rough compendium which our author later reworked into the *Introductio*. The *De Divisione* is to be allied with the works of the second period rather than later. The *Introductio ad Syllogismos Categoricalis*, though belonging to the second period, shows affinities with the third. As to the *De Geometria*, the *Interpretatio* is probably genuine, whereas the *Ars* is spurious. Aristotle's *Topica* and the *Sophistici Elenchi* are intimately connected. The *Posteriora Analytica* is to be placed closely with these and considerably later than the *Priora*. Lastly, stylistic tests are too few to settle the genuineness of the *De Fide Catholica*.

To conclude this summary, I present a complete scheme of the extant works. Transitional period: *Dialogi in Porphyrium*; *Com. in Porphyrium*; *De Arithmetica*. Greek period: *Com. in Categorias* (510 A.D.), *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, *Editio Prior*; *Priora Analytica*; *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, *Editio Secunda*; *De Divisione*; *Introductio ad Syllogismos Categoricalis*; *De Syllogismis Categoricalis*, lib. II (lib. I possibly spurious); *De Syllogismis Hypotheticis*. Ciceronian period: *Posteriora Analytica*, Aristotle's *Topica*, *Sophistici Elenchi*, *De Musica*, *Interpretatio Euclidis*¹ (*Ars Geometrica* is spurious), *Com. in Ciceronis Topica*, *De Differentiis Topicis*, *Opuscula Sacra* I, II, III, V (IV is uncertain). Last period: *Consolatio Philosophiae* (523/4).

In the beginning of my paper I implied that any such study as I have undertaken, to be of value, must serve to give us a deeper insight

¹ I assume this place for the *Interpretatio Euclidis*, though as far as my data are concerned it may have come later.

into the character of our author. What have the present results contributed to this end? One thing at least. If the *De Arithmetica* and *De Musica* were not written first of Boethius's works nor together, we must place a new estimate on our author's temperament and habits. The current idea is well expressed in the words of Professor Brandt,¹

¹ Since this article went to the printer Brandt has issued his critical edition of the works on Porphyry (*Boethii in Isagogen Porphyrii Commenta*, 1906). Aside from the text there is a valuable introduction. Brandt's comparison of the two editions is especially good. Brandt holds to his former position that the works on the quadrivium must precede those on Porphyry. Noting that Boethius, M., p. 70 D, proposes a comprehensive study of Aristotle's works on logic, he thinks that we should have had a reference to the *De Arithmetica* if Boethius had intended also to treat of the quadrivium. But observe, once more, that Boethius nowhere gave notice of his intention to take up Cicero's *Topica*, to which he later turned. Brandt also believes that a man, so *propositi tenacissimus* as our author, could not have broken into his interpretation of Aristotle by interposing works on the quadrivium. And yet Brandt himself has pointed out a similar circumstance. In the passage referred to above, Boethius proposes to take up Aristotle's logic. Nothing is said about a second commentary on Porphyry.

Brandt also recurs to the scarcity of *quidem* collocations in the first commentary on Porphyry. He thinks that although Boethius may have used them in earlier works, yet he may have laid them aside, for the time being, not meeting with them in Victorinus's translation of Porphyry. As a parallel, Brandt adduces the use of *porro autem*. This occurs 24 times (Brandt's figures) in the first commentary on Porphyry, rarely elsewhere (see table, pp. 138 f.). He supposes that Boethius, noticing the solitary instance in Victorinus's translation, with a few more that may have dropped out of our text, took a notion to *porro autem* and used it freely, later abandoning it. Now this is exactly the sort of evidence to which I have been appealing in this discussion. We are concerned, first, with noting genuine peculiarities, and then, if we can, with explaining them. Brandt's explanations might perhaps suffice here, if other criteria did not clearly place the *Dial. in Porph.* and the *De Arithmetica* in the first period, but the *De Musica* in the third. It is therefore more natural to account for the rarity of *quidem* in the *Dial. in Porph.* on the ground that this work precedes Boethius's translations. A different cause, as explained above, operates in the *De Syllog. Cat.*, of which Book I may be spurious. Instances of sporadic preferences, like *porro autem*, may be noted in all the works of Boethius. These are interesting to observe, but I have cited only such peculiarities as illustrate a constant use or some marked development. Brandt's discussion of *quidem* and *porro autem* shows that he believes such evidence worthy of consideration. In the light of many more phenomena of the same nature, considered in the same way, I venture to draw a different conclusion from his. I cannot agree, therefore, that the peculiar character of the *De Syll. Cat.* should oblige us to abandon the stylistic method in our efforts to

which I take from a personal letter to me. "Nondum persuadere mihi possum Boethium cum iam diu secundum propositum suum ad libros organi Aristotelici Latine tractandos et ad artem logicam et dialecticam exponendam operam suam contulisset, ad artem musicam explicandam redisse quae pars esset quadrivii." In other words, we are asked to hold of Boethius what Schleiermacher held of Plato, namely, that a man's life work is in embryo in the youth; that we must expect no deviation from the plan outlined by our author in his second edition of the *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, p. 79, 10-80, 1: "haec fixa sententia est, ut . . . ego omne Aristotelis opus . . . transferam atque etiam . . . omnes Platonis dialogos vertendo vel etiam commentando in Latinam redigam formam." Though these words seem to substantiate Professor Brandt's conclusion, yet it were rash to deny that some outside interest might intrude for a time—in fact we know that this was the case with Boethius. For all must concede that before he had carried out his plan of translating and perhaps of commenting on all the works of Aristotle and Plato, he had begun to work on Cicero. In the same way, he may have undertaken the *De Musica* as a parergon.

determine the chronology of the works of Boethius. On the contrary, as I have indicated, this aberrant work may confirm, perhaps decisively, the validity of the method.

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE *ACHARNENSES*

BY EARNEST CARY

THE relation of the older manuscripts of Aristophanes to one another has already been examined in most of the eleven extant plays; and this examination has usually included also certain of the younger manuscripts. The widely divergent *stemmata* in which have been embodied the results of the several investigations of Schnee, Bünger, von Bamberg, Kühne, and Zacher, have made it apparent that the same manuscript may represent very different traditions in different plays. Hence the need is now generally recognized of the special investigation of each play in order to determine the relative values of the various manuscripts containing it.

The ideal investigation of this character would naturally embrace all the known manuscripts of the play in question, and — most important of all — would be based upon complete and first-hand knowledge of the readings of those manuscripts. Unfortunately these two important conditions have not, as yet, both been realized in any one investigation. The investigations based on the admirable collations of von Velsen have been limited necessarily to the manuscripts examined by that editor; elsewhere the generally untrustworthy and incomplete character of the printed collations taken as a basis has naturally cast serious doubt upon the accuracy of the results reached. The particular incentive to the present investigation is to be found, not so much in the fact that the *Acharnenses* is one of the few plays not thus far examined with a view to determining the fundamental traditions represented by the manuscripts, as in the rare opportunity that has recently been mine for gaining essentially first-hand knowledge of all the manuscripts of this play. Professor John Williams White has kindly placed at my command for this investigation his complete sets of photographic facsimiles of the manuscripts containing the *Acharnenses* and the *Aves*. It has thus been possible for me not only to make complete collations, but to settle as well the many

doubts and queries which could not fail to arise as soon as the work of comparison was begun.¹

It was my original plan to include in the present investigation the *Aves* as well as the *Acharnenses*. But when it became apparent that the older traditions of the *Aves* present a much more complex problem than do those of the *Acharnenses*, it seemed best to defer for the present the treatment of the former; the more so as Schnée has already made a preliminary examination of certain of the older manuscripts for that play. At the same time I have not hesitated to draw on the *Aves* for evidence confirmatory of the results reached in the case of certain late manuscripts of the *Acharnenses*. One of the most practical results, as I conceive it, of such an inquiry as this is the elimination of manuscripts shown to have no independent value beside others still extant, and the consequent reduction in the labors of the future editor. If, therefore, my case against five of the manuscripts which I argue to be copies of others now extant or, in one instance, of the Aldine edition, shall be regarded as established, I shall feel that the present investigation has not been altogether idle.

Anything tending to throw new light upon the sources employed by Aldus and his immediate successors cannot fail to have its interest for Aristophanic scholars. I have therefore included a brief discussion of the readings of the Aldine and of the first two Juntine editions in their relation to our manuscripts.

The manuscripts containing the *Acharnenses* and the centuries to which they are usually assigned are as follows:²

¹ In an address delivered in Burlington House in 1904, on the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, Professor White spoke, among other topics, on the value of photographic facsimiles of the manuscripts of an ancient author to the student of his text, and suggested that the Society should undertake to act as the medium for securing them. (See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXIV, 1904, pp. lxxv-lxix.) The Society adopted this suggestion. My own experience in the present investigation confirms all that Professor White then said as to the service that the art of photography might thus be made to render.

² I avail myself of the symbols proposed by Professor White in *Classical Philology*, I (1906), p. 9 ff. For further information regarding the later MSS. see Zuretti, *Analecta Aristophanea* (1892), pp. 17, 20 f., 29, 30, 35 ff., 72 ff.; Allen, *Notes on Greek*

Ravennas (R), XI.

Parisinus 2712 (A), XIII.

Laurentianus 31, 15 (Γ), XIV.

Barberinianus I, 45 (Vb1), XV.

Estensis III D 8 (E), XIV (Allen, Zacher) or XV (Zuretti).

Estensis III D 14 (E2), XV.

Ambrosianus L 41 sup. (M9), XV.

Vaticano-Palatinus 67 (Vp2), XV.

Vaticano-Palatinus 128 (Vp3), XV.

Havniensis 1980 (H), XV.

Vallicellianus F 16 (Rm1), XV (*Ach.* 691-930).

Laurentianus 31, 16 (Δ), XV.

Parisinus 2715 (B), XVI.

Parisinus 2717 (C), XVI.

That all these mss. are derived ultimately from a rather corrupt archetype can be doubtful to nobody who has had occasion to concern himself with the text of the *Acharnenses*. It will not be necessary to give detailed evidence here; reference to the critical editions will reveal the errors common to all our mss. in verses¹ 68, 108, 119, 158, 256, 301-302, 336, 347, 348, 441, 459, 475, 490, 566, 612, 615, 636, 645, 737, 799, 803, 826, 850, 924, 944, 960, 1062, 1102, 1194-1195, 1210, — to cite only errors more serious than the Atticising of dialectic forms or the trivial corruptions common to almost all Greek mss. The evidence afforded by these errors respecting the date of the common archetype will be discussed later in connection with the final *stemma* (p. 192).

R

A large number of good readings and a yet larger list of conspicuous errors exhibited by R alone against the united testimony of the other mss. combine to place this ms. in a class quite by itself for the *Acharnenses*.

The following are the more important of the two score correct read-

Manuscripts in Italian Libraries (1890), pp. 14, 55; Zacher, in *Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift*, X (1890), p. 69 f.; and in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, LXXI (1892), pp. 29-32; Graux, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits grecs de la Grande Bibliothèque Royale de Copenhague* (1879), p. 68 f.; Dindorf, *Aves* (1822), pp. vi-xiii.

¹ In order to avoid confusion it has seemed best to follow Brunck's numbering throughout.

ings due to R alone: 127 ἴσχει R] ἴσχ' ἡ 159 τις δύο δραχμὰς] τις δραχμὰς δύο, δραχμὰς δύο τίς¹ 178 ἐγὼ μὲν δεῦρο σοι] ἐγὼ μὲν σοι δεῦρο, σοὶ μὲν δεῦρ' ἐγὼ¹ 206 μὴνύσατε] μὴνύετε 321 οἶον] οἶος 413 πτωχοὺς] χωλοὺς 460 φθείρου] φέρου τόδ'] ταῦτ' 496 λέγε] λέγειν 502 γε] om. 671 ἀνακυκῶσι] ἀνακυκλῶσι 748 καρυξῶ] καρυξῶ γε 749 δικαιοπόλι] δικαιοπόλις 777 χοιρίον] χοιρίδιον 792 ἔσται] ἐστί 828 τρέχων] ἰὼν 846 σ'²] om. 954 ἰὼν] ὦ, om.³ 1175 χυτρίδιω] χυτρίω 1190 ατταταῖ ατταταῖ] ἀτταπαττατά.

As typical of the errors peculiar to R the following may be cited from vs. 1-100, 401-500, 1101-1200: 39 om. τις 68 παρὰ R] διὰ 80 om. δ' 85 καὶ παρετίθετ'] παρετίθει δ' 91 ἤκοντες ἄγομεν] ἄγοντες ἤκομεν 93 om. πατάξας 96 νεὺς κάμπτων οἶκον] κάμπτων νεὺς οἶκον 100 πισόναστρα] ἀπίσσονα σάτρα, etc.⁴ 401 ὑποκρίνεται] ἀπεκρίνατο 402 ἀλλ' ἐκκάλεσον] ἐκκάλεσον 411 κατάβην] καταβάδην εὐὼς] ἐτὸς πτοχους] χωλοὺς. 429 om. δεινὸς λέγειν 470 om. μοι 472 γε] με τυράννους] κοιράνους, κοιράνους 1126 πολὺς] πλατὺς 1137, 1138 transposed 1155 ἀπέκλεισε] ἀπέλυσεν, ἀπέλυσ' δειπνῶν] ἄδειπνον 1196 ἄν] ἄν εἴ, γὰρ εἴ, εἴ 1197 ἐγχανεῖται] -εγχάνοι (γε), ἐγχάνοι. The following verses are omitted: 875, 876^b-877, 917, 1141,⁵ 1177;⁵ a few others omitted by R were added by R². All told there are more than eighty conspicuous errors found in R only, and as many more of no particular significance.

A

This MS. is closely related in the *Acharnenses* to Γ, VbI, E, M₉ and E₂; but it will be more convenient to postpone the examination of this relationship until the number of secondary traditions represented by the other five MSS. of the family shall have first been determined.

¹ As will be seen later (p. 182), this third reading is due to a metrical recension, and would not have been called for had the order of R been known.

² Compare σε after δικῶν (847) BΔ; but this was probably a metrical expedient like the insertion of γε in 841.

³ The reading of BΔ, ἴθι δὲ ὑπόκυπτε τὰν τύλαν Ἰσμήνιχε, might seem to point to ἰὼν in the archetype; but in that case, why any change?

⁴ Minor variations from the vulgate, particularly differences in accentuation, etc., will thus occasionally be indicated; all readings that can have any possible significance will be found after the bracket.

⁵ For verses 1141 and 1177 space has been left in the text.

In A itself I find more than forty errors not occurring elsewhere, the more important being these: 11 ἴσαγ' A] εἴσαγ' 225 ἐχθροῖς] ἐχθροῖσιν 316 om. ἡμῖν 428 φελλεροφόντης] βελλεροφόντης 434 οἰνέος] ἰνοῦς 455 λαλεῖν] λαβεῖν 461 αὐτοῦ] αὐτὸς 495 εἶα] εἶα, εἶα 649 πολλὰ κακά] κακὰ πολλά 662 ἔστω] ἔσται 687 om. ἰστὰς ἐπὼν 693-695^a om. -λέσαι . . . ἀπο-¹ 751 om. πῦρ 773 χοίρων] χοῖρος 783 οἶσθα] ἴσθι μ followed by space] ματέρ' 921 ἐμπέψειεν] ἐσπέμψειεν, ἐκπέμψειεν 995 om. μὲν ἂν (ἂν wanting in R also) 1094 λακεδαίμων] κακοδαίμων 1213 om. νυνί. These will be quite sufficient to show that A was in no case the archetype of any existing ms.

On the other hand the good readings peculiar to A are but three or four in number: 3 ψαμμακοσιογάργαρα A] ψαμμοκοσιογάργαρα 93 τε] γε 674 ἔντονον] εὐτονον and perhaps 834 τοῦ] τῷ.

Γ-Vb1

As in the *Equites*² so also in the *Acharnenses* Γ has been extensively corrected. This has been done in such a manner that the original reading can often be made out distinctly, — sometimes more distinctly in fact than the correction, — at other times only inferred from the length of an erasure. It is the original tradition of Γ which shows intimate connection with A; the readings of the correcting hands (for I distinguish at least two, to be designated in this paper as Γ² and Γ³) will be discussed later (p. 185ff.).

In Vb1 I recognize a slavish copy of Γ made by a scribe whose knowledge of Greek must have been meagre enough. Virtually every error of Γ, whether original or introduced by the first corrector,³ recurs in Vb1; while the new errors of the latter are for the most part directly traceable to the ambiguous appearance of the word or verse in Γ, particularly where corrections have been made. It is significant also that the unusual order of the three plays contained in Vb1 (*Ach.*, *Eccl.*, *Eq.*) is the same as that of the first three in Γ.

I give first some of the principal errors occurring only in these

¹ That is, two complete verses of the archetype, a division still preserved in Γ and E.

² See the preface to the edition of von Velsen or Zacher-von Velsen.

³ The few entries of Γ³ are later than Vb1, as will appear hereafter.

two manuscripts: 20 πνίξ ΓVb1] πνύξ 66 τὰς] τῆς 72 ἔπαρξιν] ἔπαλξιν 98 βασιλεῦ (Γ²)] βασιλεὺς 179 τιν'] τινες 207 ὅπη] ὅποι 208 ἐκπέφευγεν] ἐκπέφευγ' 256 ὄρθριος (Γ²)] ὄρθρος 306 σποδῶν] σπονδῶν 341 πρῶτον χαμάζε] χαμάζε πρῶτον 391 μοιχανὰς] μηχανὰς 403 ἐπέλθοιμ'] ἀπέλθοιμ' 428 ἀλλ' ἐκείνος] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνος 437 ἐπειδὴ περιχαρίσω] ἐπειδὴ περ ἐχαρίσω 448 βακτηρί] βακτηρίου 592 ἐψώλησας (Γ²)] ἀπεψώλησας 614 ὁκοισύρας] ὁ κοισύρας 635, 636 transposed (Γ²) 695 θερμὸν ἀπὸ | θερμὸν ἀπομορξάμενον¹ (Γ²)] θερμὸν ἀπομορξάμενον 814 τὸν (Γ²)] τὸ 938 λαχνοῦχος] λυχνοῦχος (so Γ²) 957 vs. om. (so B originally) 1014 ὑποσκάλανε] ὑποσκάλευε 1176 κηρωτὸν] κηρωτὴν 1199 τιθίων] τιτθίων σκληρὸν] σκληρὰ 1234 om. ἄδοντες² (Γ²). As illustrating the agreement of the two MSS. in trivial errors the following instances may be noted for vs. 1-100: 2 πανν 22 σχοινοῖον 23 ἀλλὰ ὥριαν (Γ²)] ἀλλ' ὥριαν, ἀλλ' ὥριαν, etc.³ 29 κᾶτ'] κᾶτ' 41 ἐκεῖν' 58 κρεμᾶσαι 75 κραναα 89 δὴν (Γ²)] δ' ἦν, δ'.

In the cases of disagreement which follow, the cause of the error in Vb1 is apparent the moment one glances at the corresponding passage in Γ: 14 δεξίαιος Vb1] δεξίθεος Γ 22 μεμιλτωμίον] μεμιλτωμένον 30 σπέρδοιμαι] πέρδο^{μα} from σπέρδο^{μα} 39 τιε] τις 48 τιπτολέμου] τριπτολέμου 79 δὲ καὶ καστὰς] λαικαστάς, before which^{δὲ} 90 ἐφεστιάκιζες] ἐφενάκιζες from ἐφαινάκιζες 98 om. φράσον] φράσον over ἔπεμψε 114 ἐξαπατῶμεθα θ'] ἐξαπατῶμεθ^θ 152 πλὴν σύα] πλὴν σὺ 158 τοπίος] τὸ πέος (sic) 162 τεῶς] λεῶς 170 τέγω] λέγω 236 λίθεις] λίθοις 256 ἦν] ἦ 436 ἄ ον (sic)] οἶον from ἄ..ον 505 κοῦπαο] κοῦπω 510 οὔτι] οὔπι 550 ἐλαῖν] ἐλαῶν 550 κορομύων] κορομύων Γ, κρομύων Γ² 592 εὐόπαλος] εὐπολος Γ, εὐοπλος Γ² 659 κλέων] κλέων 689 ὄφλ] ὄφλων 745 κήπετ'] κήπειτ' 788 χαῖρος] χοῖρος Γ, χῶρος Γ² 794 δαιμονίων (?)] δαιμόνων 811 ὦ] ὦ 842 ὑποψῶν] ὑποψωνῶν 843 om. σοι] σοι over εὐρυπρωκτίαν Γ² 861 γλάχαν] γλώ-

¹ θερμὸν ἀπὸ ended one page in Γ, and μορξάμενον (presumably) started the next; the corrector in indicating the new verse-division erased μορξάμενον and wrote in θερμὸν ἀπομορξάμενον, but failed to delete on the previous page.

² The first corrector of Γ failed to notice the final four verses of the *Ach.* at the top of fol. 83', and accordingly supplied them, from his second MS., at the end of the preceding folio. The scribe of Vb1 very naturally followed these later entries.

³ Γ evidently read ὥριαν.

⁴ Perhaps a reference in the archetype to the scholia; cf. 427 χωλὸς, 877 ὀρνιθίας.

χαν' Γ, γλάχων Γ² 903 οἴτι] ὅ,τι 994 τρία δοκῶ ἂν ἔτι οὐ προβα-
 λείν] τρία ἂν ἔτι δοκῶ γ' πρῶβαλῆν 1124 γοργόντων] γοργόνα τον (?) Γ,
 γοργόντων Γ² 1170 σπερεθὸν] σπελεθὸν. This list could be much
 lengthened by including such trivial errors as the following: 2 βαία Vb1]
 βαιά Γ 15 τῆτις] τῆτες 18 κονίᾱς] κονιᾱς Γ, κονίας Γ² 30 στίνω]
 στένω 38 ὑποκρούειν] ὑποκρούειν 60 τε] γε 85 ὁποὺς] ὁπτοὺς.
 In two or three instances transpositions of verses in Vb1 are explained
 by a glance at Γ: thus the order 325, 324, 327, 326, 328,¹ and 589,
 588²; and indirectly perhaps the corrected order 708, 707 was inspired
 by the correction in Γ of the false order 706, 705.

In several places a space in Vb1 answers to an erasure in Γ: 356 be-
 fore λέγω 358 before λέγεις 379 after γάρ. 459 before τὸ
 555 after τόνδε. Compare also 252 ξυν· ἐνεγκεῖν Vb1] ξυν.. ἐνεγκεῖν
 Γ, ξυν ἐνεγκεῖν Γ². It often happens that the same unusual abbrevia-
 tions and ligatures occur in both MSS., e.g.: 204 πυν^θ ΓVb1] πυνθάνου
 452 εὔρι^π] εὐριπίδη(ν) 683 λι^θ] λίθω.

As might be expected, Vb1 sometimes follows the original reading
 of Γ rather than the correction. Typical instances are: 459 ἀποκε-
 κρουμένον ΓVb1] ἀποκεκρουσμένον Γ² 531 τ'] τὴν 680 ἐτάτε] ἐάτε
 688 om.] καὶ ταραττων 729, 900 ἀθάνας] ἀθάναις 911 ζέυς] δεύς.
 This is particularly the case where there is a transposition involved
 and the correction has been indicated in Γ by means of superscript
 numerals, as in 256 ἦττον μηδὲν ΓVb1 308 οὔτε πίστις οὔτε βωμὸς
 541 ἐκπλεύσας τίς 714 τὰς γραφὰς χωρὶς εἶναι 890 ἔτει ποθουμένην.
 Occasionally we have error and correction both faithfully reproduced, as
 in 602 δρᾶ^βχμὰς τρεῖς 638 τῶν^{οὔς} στεφάνῶ^{οὔς}. Cf. also 416 χῶρῶ Γ, χῶρῶ
 Vb1 421^a φοίνικᾱς Γ, φοίνικῶς Vb1.

The errors of Vb1 for which Γ cannot be held responsible are not at
 all numerous. The important ones are these: 50 ἐξῆς Vb1] ἐξ ἧς Γ
 77 ἄνδρες] ἄνδρας 78 ποιεῖν] πιεῖν 340 om. τὸ 512 ἀμπέλινα]

¹ In Γ, 323 was inserted afterwards over 324 in the second column; 325 and 326
 follow on the next line, while in the third line 327 extends across both columns; but
 no numerals were added to indicate the correct order. What the copyist did, then,
 was simply to connect each of the verses 322, 325, 327 of the first column with the
 verse of the line above in column two.

² Here 589 was added by Γ² over 588, the correct order, however, being indicated.
 The scribe of Vb1 has slavishly copied everything, including the indications of the
 new order, and a gloss belonging to 590.

ἀμπέλια· 604 τοῦδ'] τοὺς δ' 648 πρότεροι] πότεροι 667 ἀνῶν] ἀν-
θράκων 1198 ἀτταλαττὰ] ἀτταλαττατὰ. They recur in no other MS.

It is not surprising therefore to discover virtually no readings superior to those in Γ. The total list, if we neglect two or three breathings and accents, would seem to be the following: 169 ποιεῖν Vb1] ποεῖν Γ 399 ποιεῖ] ποεῖ 410 ποιεῖς] ποεῖς 461 ἐργάζει] ἐργάζη and 274 κάτω (sc. κατα-, the clear intent of Γ² in place of κάτω of Γ).

For the glosses of Vb1 see below (p. 200).

E-M9-E2

In E as in Γ we have for this play a contamination of two diverse traditions. The corrections have been entered by the original hand, but for convenience will be distinguished by the symbol E². This uniformity of hand throughout, combined with the scribe's usual practice of erasing the earlier reading, renders it impossible in many cases to restore the original entry. It is certainly significant, however, that nearly all the corrections occur at points where Γ also has been corrected and where A shows an error.

With E two other manuscripts associate themselves very closely, — M9 and E2.¹ The precise nature of this relationship will appear from the following lists:

(1) *Errors peculiar to EM9E2.* — 134 om. παρὰ] παρὰ, πα (A) 284 συνετρίψετε (E²)] συντρίψετε 302 κατύμματα] καττύματα, κατόμματα 321 οἶος τίς] οἶος, οἶον 329 ἡμῖν] ἡμῖν 333 λάρικος] λάρικος 356 ὥς] ὅς' 398 τὰ 'πύλλια E, τὰ πύλλια M9E2] ἐπύλλια 531 θ'] τήν, τ'(AΓ) 639 ἀν καλέσειεν] καλέσειεν 665 δεῖρ' ὦ] δεῖρο 687 ἵππων (so perhaps Γ originally)] ἐπῶν, om. 759 ἐμέ (E²)] ἀμέ, etc. 796 ἐμπεπαρμένων (E²)] ἐμπεπαρμένον 879 αἰλούρως] αἰελούρως 921 ἐκπέμψειεν] ἐσπέμψειεν, ἐμπέψειεν 930 οὔτος (E²)] οὔτως 991 om. ἄν 994 γέ] γ', om. 1023 vs. om. 1072 τοὺς] τίς 1144 ἔρχησθον (E²)] ἔρχεσθον 1171 om. δ' 1198 ἀτταπαττατὰ] ἀτταλαττατὰ, ατταταῖ ατταταῖ. Also a few peculiarities in accentuation, and in the assignment of verses to speakers.

¹ The order of the plays is the same in E and M9: *Pl., Nub., Ran., Eq., Av., Ach.*; in E2 there are now contained only *Ran., Eq., Av., Ach.*, but the *Ranae* is styled δρᾶμα τρίτον. (See Zuretti, *op. cit.* pp. 17, 37 f., 74 f.)

(2-4) *Errors peculiar to E alone, to EM9, or to EE2.*—None.

(5) *Errors peculiar to M9E2 (the more important).*—53 ἔχων M9E2] ἔχω 68 ἐτρυχώμεθα] ἐτρυχώμε(σ)θα 120 τοιόνδ' ὦ] τοιόνδε δ' (θ', γ') ὦ 196 μὲν γὰρ] μὲν ἀνβροσίας] ἀμβροσίας 230 αὐτ'] αὐτ', ἄτε, ἀντ- 303 om. λόγους 330 om. τῷ 350 om. τοῦ 353 ἀνδρὸν] ἀνδρῶν 382 ἀπολώμην] ἀπωλόμην 400 τριμακάρι'] τρισμακάρι' 423 πλέον] πέ- πλον, πέπλων 431 ἀντιβολῶσί με] ἀντιβολῶ σέ μοι 447 ἐμπίπλαμι] ἐμπίπλαμαι 455 χρέον] χρέος 471 om. second ἀλλ' 472 μοι] μέ 569 εἶπέ] εἴ τέ 577 πτωχὸς ὦν τολμᾶς] τολμᾶς πτωχὸς ὦν 585 πτί- λωσόν μοι] πτίλον σοι 600 μὲν πολιοὺς μὲν] πολιοὺς μὲν 734 πεπρά- χθαι] πεπρᾶσθαι 748 δικαιοῖπωλιν] δικαιοῖπολιν, δικαιοῖπαλιν 763 ἀθλί- γας] ἀγλίθας, etc. 798 ἂν κἄνευ] κἄνευ, κἂν ἄνευ,¹ καὶ ἄνευ 831 ἄλλας] ἄλας 834 χοιρίδι] χοιρίδια πειρῆσθε 836 ἦ] οἱ 982 πάντα τὰ 'γάθ' πάντ' ἀγάθ', etc. 1031 περ] πῶς 1061 δεῦρο] φέρε 1088 ἐγ- γόνει] ἐγκόνει, etc.

(6) *Errors peculiar to M9.*—372 εὐλογεῖ M9] εὐλογῇ 471 ἄπειμ'] ἄπειμι 933 πυρρρραγῆς] πυρορραγῆς, etc. 1028 ἦ] εἴ. Add the omission of ΔΙ. before vs. 901, 1035.²

(7) *Errors peculiar to E2.*—14 δεξίθεον E2] δεξίθεος 64 ὦ κρά- τανα] ὦ κβάτανα 67 εὐχῶν] δραχμῶν 124 εἰ βουλει καλῶς] ἡ βουλὴ καλεῖ 162 θρηνίτης] θρανίτης 176 στώην] στῶ 236 λίθον] λίθοις 242 πρόιθῳ] πρόιθ' ὥς 343 πλόθοι] που λίθοι 499 δρᾶν (corrected to δρῶν)] ποῶν 528 κατερράη] κατερράγη³ 635 χαυνοπλίτας] χαυνο- πολίτας 639 θήνας] ἀθήνας 644 ἦ ῥῆσιν] ἥξουσιν 818 μεγαρεὺς] μεγαρικὸς 835 τιῖ] τις, τίς 861 ἱαμηνία] ἰσμηνία 916 θρυαλλίδας] θρυαλλίδας 975 κατεπίειν] κατεσθίειν 1039 μῆσαδώσειν] μεταδώσειν 1040 κατάγχει] κατάχει 1072 κτυπᾶς] κτυπεῖ 1157 ὠπτημένους] ὠπτημένη 1163 γένοντο] γένοιτο 1199 ἦ] ὥς. Many other instances might be added.

¹ E has ^{αν}κἄνευ, which undoubtedly was meant for κἂν ἄνευ, although easily mis- taken for ἂν κἄνευ.

² Differences in the assignment of verses to speakers will not be recorded as a rule except in the discussion of MSS. very closely related; they will be completely ignored in reporting the total number of errors occurring in single MSS. or groups of MSS. In indicating assignments I give normally the first two letters only, fol- lowed by a period, regardless of the form in the MS.; the absence of the period means that the exact abbreviation of the MS. is repeated.

³ In M9 γ has been blotted.

Not only are there no errors peculiar to E alone, but there is no important error of those shared by E with MSS. of other traditions which does not reappear in M₉ and E₂. The trivial improvements offered by M₉ and E₂ are these: 222, 298 *μηδέ* M₉E₂] *μη* δέ E 238 *σίγα*] *σίγα* 399 *ποιεῖ*] *ποιεῖ* 686 *ρήμασιν*] *ρήμασι* 813 *τροπαλίδος*] *τροπαλλίδος* 1084 *τίνα*] *τινὰ* 1090 *τράπεζαι*] *τραπέζαι*. Similarly a few errors common to EM₉ and other MSS. are avoided by E₂: 98 *ἀπέπεμψεν* E₂] *ἀπέπεμψε* EM₉ 169 *ποιεῖν*] *ποιεῖν* 255 *κᾶκποιήσεται*] *κᾶκποήσεται* 410, 413 *ποιεῖς*] *ποιεῖς* 1064 *ποιεῖται*] *ποιεῖται*; also a few accents, etc., such as 34 *οὐδεπώποτ'*] *οὐδὲ πώποτ'* 330 *ἦ*] *ἦ* 1226 *ὀδυρτὰ*] *ὀδύρτα*. In addition, E₂ corrects errors of M₉, aside from the cases given above under (6), also in 945 *κατωκάρα* E₂] *κάτω κάρα* M₉ and 461 ΔΙ.] om. 1049 ΠΑ.] om.

The few corrections found in M₉ and E₂, in every instance by the original scribe, are regularly to, not away from, the readings of E and M₉ respectively; yet where a correction in E or M₉ is rather ambiguous, the original reading is sometimes taken in place of the corrected.

It seems certain, therefore, that E₂ is a copy of M₉, and that M₉ in turn is derived from E. There is this interesting difference, that whereas many of the readings of E₂ are directly explained by the careless writing of M₉,¹ scarcely any of the discrepancies between M₉ and E find a similar explanation, E being written very distinctly. It seems probable, therefore, that a carelessly-written MS. intervened between E and M₉.

It will not be amiss at this point, in view of the destructive trend of the evidence just presented respecting the value of M₉ and E₂, to show very briefly that in the *Aves* also these MSS. betray the same close dependence upon E as in the *Acharnenses*. First, then, I have to report sixty errors² found only in E, M₉, and E₂; and these are confined to vs. 1-221 and 602-1765, the signature of E containing vs. 222-601 having been lost. A few important examples follow: 115, 116 transposed 751 *ἀεὶ* repeated after *φέρων* 921 *τήνδε κλήζω*] *τήνδ' ἐγὼ κλήζω* 997 *ἔτεόν*] *ἀνδρῶν* 1052 *μυριάδας*] *μυρίας* 1116 *ἔχη*] *ἔχητε* 1126 *ἐπαίνω*] *ἐπάνω* 1457-1461 omitted 1670^b *τοῦτ'*] *δῆτ'*

¹ All the examples given under (7) are of this sort.

² Exclusive of accentual variants, etc.

1691 σὺ] σὺ τὰ 1720 δῖεχε δῖαγε] δῖεχε 1752 ὦ κεραυνέ as part of vs. Three correct readings are found only in these MSS.: 1090 ἀμπισχνοῦνται¹ EM9E2] ἀμπισχοῦνται 1573 ἐώρακα] ἐώρακα 1669 εἰσ-ήγαγ'] εἰσήγαγ'. Occurring only in M9 and E2 are more than fifty errors, among them: 71 ὅπερ M9E2] ὅτε περ 116 κοῦποδιδοῦς] κοῦκ ἀποδιδοῦς 185 ἄρξ'] ἄρξετ' 785 ἴδιον] ἡδιον 1052 γραφὰς] δραχμάς 1078 ἀναγάγη (να erased in M9)] ἀγάγη 1281 ἐλακωμάνουν] ἐλακωνομάνουν 1462 νῦν] μὴν 1543 ἦν γε] ἦν γ' ἦν. Of the peculiar errors of E2 directly traceable to the appearance of the words in M9, I may cite: 132 γάλα E2] γάμους M9 140 εὐραδὺν] εὐράων 194 γῆν omitted, but space left] γῆν blotted out 205 θεύσον τῷ] θεύσονται 356 τὰ σὰ] τοι σοι 519 λέγωσιν] λάβωσιν 553 ἀκερδάλειον] σμερδαλέον 575 πελείματι(?)] πελείη² 665 πύκνη] πρόκνη 830 πανοπλίῳ] πανοπλίαν 1032 κάδιω] κάδω 1324 ἐγεννήσεις] ἐγκονήσεις 1363 πῶς] παῖς 1570 πῶς] ποῖ 1594 ἀλυνονίδας] ἀλκυνονίδας. ΕΠΟΨ before 841 finds its explanation in ἔπεσον, the end of the scholium on 840, which in M9 stands immediately before 841; 1209 and 1210 are written as one verse in both MSS., with this difference that in M9 they were originally omitted, and were crowded in later.³ The scribe of M9 has corrected a few obvious errors of E: 778 ἔσβεσε M9] ἔσβεσεν E 866 ὀλυμπήσι] ὀλυμπήσιν 967 οἰκίσωσι] οἰκίσωσι 1393 πετεινῶν] πετηνῶν 1599 ποιέσθαι] ποιεῖσθαι; also a few mistakes in accentuation, etc. These corrections appear also in E2, which adds the following: 59 ποιήσεις E2] ποιήσεις EM9 344 ἔπαγ'] ἔπαγε 650 ξυνεσόμεθ'] ξυνεσόμεσθ' 1079 σπίνους (the first reading of M9)] σπίνουvs 1301 ἐμπεποιημένη] ἐμπεποιημένη 1365 θατέρα] θητέρα 1545 αἰί] αἰεί 1596 πώποθ'] πώποτ' 1628 οἰμῶζειν (so M9 at first)] οἰμῶζειν. There is here clearly no reason for suspecting the use of a second MS. on the part of the scribe of either E2 or M9. For the *Aves*, then, as well as for the *Acharnenses*, E2 has no original value; and M9 is of no greater importance except for vs. 222-601 of the *Aves*, now lost in E.

¹ In E there is a dot over the first ν, possibly a correction.

² In M9 the final letter of πελείη is written above the line, surrounded by scholia; τὸν (written τ") of the scholium on 574 is responsible for the -τι of E2.

³ In addition to this class of errors E2 shows in the *Aves* as well as in the *Acharnenses* frequent corruptions due sometimes to pure carelessness on the part of the scribe, often to deliberate emendation.

It will be shown later in a special section devoted to the scholia of certain MSS. that the same relationship holds between the scholia of these three MSS. as for the text.

A-Γ-E

With the elimination of Vb1 and M9-E2 as of no independent value beside Γ and E respectively, the examination of the errors shared by A, now with all five of these manuscripts, now with certain of them only, becomes at once much simplified. I note first the errors peculiar to the whole group A-Γ-E, arranging these in separate lists according as the original reading (1) remains unchanged, or has been corrected (2) in Γ, (3) in E, or (4) in both.¹

(1) 104 λήψη AΓE] λήψει, ληψι 121 ἦλθεν] ἦλθες 137 vs. om.
 138 τῇ χιόνῃ AΓ, τῇ χιόνι E] χιόνι 296 ἀνάσχοιθ' AΓ, ἀνάσχοισθ' E]
 ἀνάσχεσθ' 371 χαίροντας οἶδα] οἶδα χαίροντας 408 ἐγκυκλήσει τί
 A, ἐκκυκλήσει τί² ΓE] ἐκκυκλήθητ(ι) 411 vs. om. (so C at first³)
 412-413 after 414 414 om. σ' 419 καὶ] ὁ 421 om. τοῦ 423 πέπ-
 λον] πέπλων 425 πολὺ (so Δ³)] πολὺ πολὺ 433 κείνται] κείται
 802 κοῖ κοῖ κοῖ] κοῖ κοῖ 943 ἰσχυρὸν δ'] ἰσχυρὸν 1177 τὸν] τὸ and
 several unimportant variants and peculiar assignments to speakers.

(2) 219 om. ἦδη 248 om. σοι 296 γ' ἄν] ἄν γ', ἄν . . . γ',
 ἄν, γ' 308 πίστις οὔτε βωμὸς] βωμὸς οὔτε πίστις 337 om. ὑμεῖς
 531 τ' AΓ, θ' E] τὴν 598 om. γὰρ 673 ἐλθέτω] ἐλθε 705 κη-
 φισοδόμω] κηφισοδήμω 716 νέοις] νέοισι 736 τί] τίς 874 γλαψὼ]
 γλασχὼ 911 ἴτω] ἴττω 994 ἄν ἔτι δοκῶ (add γ' Γ, γε E)] δοκῶ γ'
 ἄν ἔτι 1080 πολεμολαχαϊκόν] πολεμολαμαχαϊκόν, πολεμομαχαϊκόν, etc.
 1119 vs. om. 1158 after 1160 1208 μογερός δ'] μογερός 1220-
 1221 vs. om.; also a few peculiar accents, etc. Corresponding to ἐγὼ
 inserted by AE before λέγω in 356 Γ shows an erasure; in 357 AE
 have ἐμαντοῦ, Γ² ἐμὴν in place of a longer word.

¹ The readings of Γ²E², as representing a single distinct tradition, will be discussed later (p. 185); in the present section it will be understood that the corrected reading is identical with that of the other MSS. or in case of a complex tradition the same as the first of the readings following the bracket.

² In E vs. 403-407 appear in the margin, while 408-409 replace a single line of text; the omission was evidently due to *homocoteleuton* (402^b = 408^b). The verses were almost certainly supplied from the original MS.

³ It will be seen later that this can be nothing more than a coincidence.

(3) 165 οὐκ ἀποβαλεῖτε ΑΓΕ] οὐ καταβαλεῖτε 214 φαῦλω] φαύλλω
630 om. δ' 681 om. ἀλλὰ 682 ἀσφάλειός] ἀσφάλειός 1229 χέας
Α, χέας ΓΕ] ἐγχεάς. In addition E has been corrected in the following
places where the reading of ΑΓ is now unique: 79 ὑμεῖς ΑΓ] ἡμεῖς Ε²
120 θ'] δ', γ' 522 καπέπραχθ'¹] καπέπρατ', καπέπραθ', etc. 591 οὐδ']
εἰ δ' 831 ταύτη] ταυτὶ.

(4) 30 σπέρδομαι ΑΓΕ] πέρδομαι 166 ἐσκορδισμένοις] ἐσκοροδισμένοις
260 τοῦ] τῆς 318 ἔχω] ἔχων 340 om. τόδε 357 om. γε 363 ἔχοι]
ἔχει 541 ἐκπλεύσας τίς | σκάφει] τίς ἐκπλεύσας σκάφει | 602 δραχμάς
τρεις] τρεῖς δραχμάς 667 πυρίνων] πρινίνων, πρινίων 688 om. καὶ
ταράττων 714 τὰς γραφὰς χωρὶς εἶναι] χωρὶς εἶναι τὰς γραφὰς 719 τῆς
(om. Ε) ἐμῆς οἶδε] οἶδε τῆς ἐμῆς 739 φέρειν φασὼ] φασὼ φέρειν
859 om. ἐκάστου 891 ἔχω] ἐγώ 896 ταύτη] ταύτην 898 ἰώγε]
ἰώγα 941 om. χρώμενος 959 om. ΑΓ. ὃ τι 1129 ὄρω] ἐνορῶ.
In all these examples there is no doubt regarding the original reading of
Γ and Ε. In addition there are to be seen corrections in both these mss.
in some two score places where Α shows an error. Generally the orig-
inal reading of one of the two can easily be seen to have been identical
with that of Α; often, however, we can only infer such original agree-
ment from the length of the erasure. A list of the more important
examples of this sort may be of interest, even while making no pretence
to add much to the force of the argument: ² 16 ὁψὲ (Ε)] ὅτε 23 ὥριαν
Α, ὥριαν Γ] ἄωριαν 87 τοὺς (Γ)] βοῦς 89 om. ἦν (Γ) 105 ἰαῦ
(Γ)] αὔ 116 ἐνθένδεν] ἐνθένδ' 244 ἀρξώμεθα (Γ)] ἀπαρξώμεθα
330 τινι] τῷ, τῷ θρασύνεται (Ε)] θρασύνεται 460 om. ἴσθ' (Γ)
554 γεράνων] νιγλάρων 567 γοργολόφας] γοργολόφα om. 588^b-
589^a (εἰπέ . . . ἐστιν)³ 592 εὖπολος (Γ)] εὖοπλος 618 δῆτ' οὐκ]
δῆτ' 715 ὁ γέρων] γέρων 722 λαχάνω (Γ)] λαμάχω 758 ἄλλοι
(Γ)] ἄλλο 788 ἀλῆς (Γ)] λῆς 820 ἐκείνης] ἐκεῖν' 835 ἐφῶλι] ἐφ'

¹ Borrowed by B²; see p. 188.

² The reading before the bracket is that found in Α; wherever the original entry of either Γ or Ε is certain I add the appropriate symbol.

³ 588^b and 589 are by Γ², the former in an erasure (589^b deleted?), the latter wrongly inserted between 586 and 588, in the first column, but afterwards correctly located by means of numerals. In Ε, on the other hand, it seems to have been 588^a which was erased, as 589^a stands in an erasure, while 588 entire has been added over 587, the first verse of the page; the correct order, however, is indicated.

ἀλὶ, ἐφαλὶ R 884 τῶνδε (Γ)] τῶδε κῆπι χαραρίττα] κῆπιχαρίττα, κῆπιχαρίττα, etc. 1052 στρατεύηται] στρατεύοιτ', στρατεύητ' Γ² ἀλλ' ἵνα] ἀλλὰ 1223 παιωνείαισι (E)] παιωνίαισι.

It may be added that the verse-division is often unique in AΓE, particularly in the lyrical passages. This has been corrected in both Γ and E, on the same model throughout,¹ by means of the symbols : (Γ²) and + (E²).²

In view of this showing it is clear that A, Γ, and E represent essentially but one tradition, and that a decidedly corrupt tradition. The only good readings in fact peculiar to this family are these: 138 κατένειψε AΓE] κατένιψε 803 κοῖ κοῖ κοῖ³] κοῖ κοῖ also 674 ἀγροικότερον AE(Γ?)] ἀγροικότονον (Γ²) 913 ἦρα⁴ AΓ(E?)] ἦρω, ἦρω, ἦρω Cf. 754 ἐγὼν AΓE (borrowed by B²)] ἐγὼ, γα, om.

Within this family it is difficult to trace any more intimate relationships. We have already seen (p. 161 f.) that the errors peculiar to A and to ΓVb1 are such as to preclude the derivation of Γ or E from A, or of E from Γ. It appears improbable also that any two were derived through an archetype subsequent to the common archetype of all three. The evidence on this point seems at first sight somewhat conflicting. On the one hand there are some fourteen errors confined to AΓ, the more serious of which are 39 πρὶν AΓ] πλὴν E 638 ἐκάθισεν] ἐκάθησθε 781 αὐτάστοι] αὐτά'στι 931 φέρω] φέρων 1124 γοργόνα τὸν] γοργόνωτον; peculiar to ΓE there are twelve, including 46 om. ἀμφίθεος. KH. 266 ἔτι] ἔτει 550 κορομύων] κρομμύων 779 ἀποισῶν] ἀποισῶ 800 κοῖ κοῖ κοῖ] κοῖ κοῖ 1057 om. τί σοι 1069 ἐσπακώς] ἀνеспακώς; while AE, finally, have four or five errors to themselves, important only 409 ἐγκυκλήσομαι⁵] ἐκκυκλήσομαι. The only possible conclusion, it seems to me, is that the common archetype of A-Γ-E afforded some excuse for such of these errors as are not the result of pure coincidence. This archetype will be designated hereafter as α.⁶

¹ Cf. p. 185.

² The scribe of Vb1 failed utterly to appreciate the force of the two dots. In M9 the change called for by E² is regularly made.

³ Probably an emendation on the analogy of 801, 802; the superfluous κα is retained after σύ.

⁴ Preserved now only in A; Vb1 and M9 have ἦρω, the corrected reading of Γ and E.

⁵ In 408 A alone reads ἐγκυκλήσει τί.

⁶ Whether α was the immediate ancestor of any one of the three MSS. must

Vp3-C

The next group to be considered is that formed by Vp3 and C. The relationship between these manuscripts is very intimate, there being approximately 150 errors peculiar to the two, exclusive of mere differences of accent, etc. Among the more important may be recorded: 19 καὶ Vp3C] ὡς 68 καστρίων] καύστρίων 105 οἶμοι καὶ] οἶμοι, οἶμοι μοι 122 που τ'] ποτ' 148 βολθήσειν] βοηθήσειν 167 πρέσβεις] πρυτάνεις 175 ἀμφίων θεός] ἀμφίθεος 219 τοῦ μὲν] τοῦ μὸν 225 ἐσπείσαντο] ἐσπείσατο 274 ἄραν] ἄραντα 281 βάλε (second, third, and fourth)] βάλλε 316 καὶ] εἰ 412 om. τὰ 449 space and νων (νῶν C)] λαῖνων 506 ἦ] οἱ 560 ποσειδῶν] ποσειδῶ καὶ 646 om. τόλμης . . . ἦκει 648 om. αὐτοὺς . . . κρατοῦσιν 649 ὅποτέρους] ποτέρους 650 ποτὲ] πολὺ 655 ποτε δείσῃθ'] ἀφήσεθ', ἀφήσετ', ἀφήσετε 662 καὶ] κοῦ, κᾶν 695 ἀπομαξάμενον] ἀπομορξάμενον 696 space] δὴ 698 ἐβάλλομεν] ὅτ' ἦμεν 702 ἀντερομαρψίας] ἀντερεῖ μαρψίας 732 ποτὶ τὰν] ποτ(τ)ὰν 736 space] καὐτός φαμι 738 γ' ἔμοι] γάρ μοι 775 νι] νιν τίνα] τίνος, τινὸς 781 γέ μοι] γε 804 om. ὡς 872 κολλιφάγε Vp3, κολλιφέγε C] κολλικοφάγε, etc. 952 ἐνέδησαν] ἐνέδησα 968 ἦ] ἦν 988 om. καὶ 1055 ἐγχείμμι] ἐγχείαιμι 1122 κῖται] κιλλίβαντας, κυλλιβάνται, etc. 1127 πλακοῦντος] πλακοῦς 1145 μὲν γὰρ] μὲν 1189 om. δὲ. Noteworthy as an indication of the blind fidelity with which each repeats its archetype is the manner in which 325^a and 325^b are attached to 324 and 326 respectively, while εἰς (εἰς C) στίχος is added to 323. Compare their agreement in the following trivial errors chosen from vs. 701-800: 702 πρὸς 711 τοξότας 729 ἀγὸρ' ἂν 740 ὀπλὰς 748 δε 751 αἰὶ 754 ἐμπορεύομαν 765, 771 ἀλλα; wrong division of verses: 751-752 after ποττο 753-754 after νῦν 757-758 after πραγμάτων 760-761 after ὑμῆς and after σκόροδα 734-735 written as one verse.

There are a few places in this play where syllables have been added or deleted in an archetype of Vp3C apparently from considerations of

remain undetermined. A, as we have seen, has only about forty errors to itself; Γ and E differed even less from the archetype. Hardly more than one copy at the most, therefore, could have intervened between α and any one of the three. In any case, a MS. written in single column (cf. the omission of 323 and 957 in Γ, and of 1023-1027 originally in E), with numerous ligatures and words frequently crowded in above the line, could easily have been the immediate source of A, Γ, and E.

metre. These are : 134 θέωρ' Vp3C] θέωρος, om. 158 ἀποτέθρακε τίς] ἀποτέθρακεν 462 τοδί] τουτί 720 εἶπε] om., πᾶσι, τοῖς 1215 προσλάβεσθε μ'] προσλάβεσθ(ε) and perhaps 733 ἀκούετε] ἀκούετον. Of these the corrections seen in 134 and 1215 occur also in HVp2; in 158, 462, and 720 those mss. have been otherwise corrected.¹

Good readings found only in Vp3C are : 733 ἀκούετε Vp3C] ἀκούετον 899 ἐνθένδ' ἐκεῖσ'] ἐνθένδε κείσ', ἐντεῦθεν ἐκεῖσ'; cf. 741 εἰμὲν] ἦμεν, ἦμὲν. But nobody, I fancy, will feel any confidence that these represent an unbroken tradition from a good old archetype.

Intimate as is the connection between these two mss., neither appears to be a copy of the other. Quite apart from chronological considerations, if we accept the dates usually assigned, we could never recognize in C the archetype of Vp3, because of the large number of absurd errors found in C alone.² As samples I may cite : 33 πιθῶν C] ποθῶν Vp3 43 πόσθεν] πρόσθεν 76 κατάλεγων] κατάγελων 171 βέλβηκέ] βέβληκέ 405 π' ποτ' 424 τὸ τοῦτο] τὰ τοῦ 709 ἀχαιὰν] ἀχαιὰν 852 σχαλῶν] μασχαλῶν 1048 τοὺς] τίς. On the other hand, C improves on Vp3 in less than ten places, if we neglect accentual variants, the most important being 53 ὦνδρες C] ὦνγρες Vp3 200 ἀχαρνέας] ἀχαρνέας 503 κακῶς] κακακῶς 750 ἀγοράσοντες] ἀγονάσοντες.³

¹ One might think of adding here 608 ἤδη C] om., ἀεὶ and 1049 κρέα Vp3C] τὰ κρέα. The first of these, however, is particularly doubtful, inasmuch as Vp3 omits all but the first word or two of several verses at this point, and it is possible that C has been corrected from another tradition (cf. note 3, below); H, Vp2, B and Δ all read ἤδη. In 1049 κρέα may well go back to a good tradition, as it is the reading of R as well as HVp2.

² More than 75, disregarding accentual differences, etc.

³ There remains one passage where C's fuller reading would be decisive if we could feel at all confident that it had stood there from the first. I refer to vs. 605-609, which are written in full in C, while in Vp3 only the first few letters of each verse appear. It seems pretty certain, however, that the additions in C, although they were all made by the original hand, were nevertheless entered later from a second ms. In the first place, the abbreviation of the speaker in 607 and 609 is ΠΔ, ^KΔ, not, as invariably elsewhere in C and Vp3, ΔΙΚΑΙ, but ΔΙ, and appears moreover in black ink, not in red; again, ἐν in 606 is written out, contrary to the scribe's usual practice, instead of as a ligature (Vp3 breaks off with ἐ). At the same time this assumption raises the question why there is no evidence elsewhere of any use of a second manuscript, particularly in the case of 646 and 648, similarly deficient, and of 736, to which special prominence had been given by the direction λείπει ζήτηι, entered in the margin of Vp3C.

These changes are simple enough, to be sure; yet I seriously doubt the capacity of the scribe of C to make even such emendations. A stronger argument against recognizing in C a copy of Vp₃ is to be found in the fact that the unusually clear and distinct writing of the latter¹ offers no adequate justification for the frequent errors of C due manifestly to confusion of such letters as ρ and ν (the most frequent), α and ε, λ and δ, κ and χ, κ and μ, as seen, e.g., in 37 παρασκευασμένος C] παρεσκευασμένος Vp₃ 127 θύνα] θύρα 138 κατέριψε] κατένιψε 798 ποπίδα] ποτίδα 909 κᾱκος] μᾱκος 1120 τοῦλυττον] τοῦλυτρον 1129 δειδίας] δειλίας 1150 ψαχάδος] ψακάδος.

The common archetype, which would appear to have been a comparatively late manuscript, may be designated as *c*.

Vp₂-H

Our second Palatine manuscript is not a whit behind the first in finding its double, as will be apparent from the following list of traits common to this manuscript and the Havniensis: (1) *Verses omitted in Vp₂H*.—187 (but added by Vp₂²), 374, 394, 407, 491, 493, 533^b–534^a (μήτ' . . . θαλάττη). (2) *Verses transposed*.—803 after 805. (3) *Glosses or fragments of scholia entered as text*.—After vs. 157, 166, 218, 219,² 221, 284, 300, 351, 526, 600, 615, 976,³ 992, 1028, 1032, 1226; also in 423 γέρων before πέπλων 548 ἀρτίων (ἀτίων Vp₂) displacing σιτίων 551 τριχιδωκχθύων (*sc.* τριχίδων ἰχθύων) in place of τριχίδων 668 σπινθήρ after φέψαλος.⁴ (4) *Indications of speaker entered as text*.—764 μεγαρεὺς (followed by ME) 800, 815 με 818 σὺ H, σὺ Vp₂ (preceded by ΣΥ) μεζῶ H, μεζω Vp₂ 896 δι' (5) *Other corruptions* (a few examples).—36 ἀπήνων] ἀπὴν 52 πρὸς τοὺς] πρὸς 195 om. τε 206 om. τὸν 244, 253 κατὰ νοῦν] κανοῦν 300 om.

¹ That Vp₃ and Vp₂ were both written by the same scribe seems to me certain; his name is given in Vp₃ at the end of the *Acharnenses* as νικόλαος δ νταρμάρος.

² The corruption at this point is in itself a whole commentary on the intelligence of the scribe responsible for the archetype. Following ἀπεπλίξατο, the final word of 218, we read πλιξ πήδημα· δῖμ (δμος H)· εἶγε, while ἀντικνήμιον of 219 has been replaced by ἀντιπλίσσοντο πόδεσσι.

³ This gloss occupies a whole line between 976 and 977 in both MSS.; those following 157, 166, 526, 600, are similarly written in H.

⁴ Possibly also 997 ῥχόν, in place of κλάδον, although this may well be due to deliberate change in the interest of the metre.

346 σειθεστος] σειστος 428 βελλοφορόντης] βελλεροφόντης
 505 οὐπω γὰρ] κοῦπω, καὶ οὐπω 523 μέντοι] μὲν δὲ 636 γὰρ δὲ] δ'
 641 ὑμῖν αἴτιος] αἴτιος ὑμῖν 665 βδελυρὰ] φλεγυρὰ πῦρ] πυρὸς
 698 ὁτῇμ' (ὁτῇμ' Vp2) εἶ] ὅτ' ἤμεν 829 om. ταῖς 906 λάβοιμ' ἂν]
 λάβοιμι μέντ' ἂν 966 μοί γε] γέ μοι 971 ὥς] εἶδες ᾧ (second)
 1025 ὥς] ὥπερ, ὥσπερ, etc. 1146 ῥυγῶντι] ῥιγῶν καὶ 1177 ἔργοις
 ὑπηρὰ] ἔργ' οἰσυνηρὰ. A considerable list of interpolations and other
 changes made in the interest of the metre will for convenience be dis-
 cussed a little later (p. 182). In all there are 225 significant errors
 found only in Vp2 and H. (6) *Good readings.*—965 τρεῖς κατασκίους
 λόφους] τρισὶ κατασκίοις λόφοις, τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφοις 1212 ἰὼ ἰὼ] ἰὼ
 and perhaps 997 ὄρχον] κλάδον.

In general there is the closest agreement, even in minute errors of
 accentuation, breathings, and the like; yet the scribe of H has fre-
 quently tried his hand at emendation, with rather unfortunate results.
 Witness these instances: 53 ἐφ' ὅδ' H] ἐφ' ὅδ' Vp2 180 στιπτικοῖ]
 στιπτοῖ 367 τοιουτοσὶν] τυνουτοσὶ 471 ἀγῶν] ἀγᾶν 608 ἃ μὴ γέ
 που] ἀμηγέπου 741 υἱὸς (so R)] υἱὸς 759 οἱ] τοῖ 762 οὐκ] ὀκ'
 790 ὁμοπατρία (so MgE2)] ὁμαματρία 997 ἡ μερίδος] ἡμερίδος
 1092 ἱατρία] ἱτρία 1093 ἀρμονίου] ἀρμοδίου 1176 ὀρθόνια] ὀθόνια
 and so presumably 398 μὲν οὖν] μὲν.

These and many other changes of like nature make it certain that H
 is not an ancestor of Vp2. Further proof, if required, could be found
 in the omission in H of vs. 51 (except the first two words), 516, 583^b–
 584^a (παράθες . . . κείται), 671, 1107, all to be read in Vp2; and in the
 total absence of scholia from H, while Vp2 has scattering notes on the
 first two hundred verses. The evidence against the derivation of H from
 Vp2 is not perhaps so conclusive; yet in view of the examples we have
 just seen of the conjectural skill of the scribe of H, it is certainly diffi-
 cult to believe that his cleverness restored the correct reading in such
 instances as 210 ἐτῶν H] τῶν Vp2 435 Ζεῦ] om. 1008 τῆς
 εὐβουλίας] τῇ οὐσ' ἐβουλίας 1139 δὲ] om. Furthermore the error of
 H in vs. 395, whereby the two speakers ΚΗΦΙΣΟΦΩΝ and ΔΙ. become
 respectively φιλοσοφῶν, as part of the text, and ΚΗ, finds no excuse in
 the appearance of the verse in Vp2. We must conclude, then, that H
 and Vp2 are independent copies of a very corrupt and carelessly-written
 MS. no longer extant. This archetype we may designate as *h*.

B-Δ

Another pair, and we have finished the genuine manuscripts of our list.¹ First I give the more important errors common to B and Δ alone: 20 ἡδεῖ BΔ] αὐτή, αὐτή 46 | οὐκ] οὐ | 68 ἐπευχόμεθα] ἐτρυχόμε(σ)θα 87 βοῦς καὶ] βοῦς 106 ἰάνας] ἰάονας 129 om. μοι 222 ἐκφύγη] ἐκφυγών 250 om. τυχηρῶς τὰ 307 om. λέγοις 420 ἀλλ' οὐκ] οὐκ 424 οὐ] ἦ, ἦ 427 πτωχὸς] χωλὸς 581 ὦν τῶν] τῶν 632 καὶ] νυνὶ 650 γενήσεσθαι] γεγενῆσθαι 678, 679 transposed 713 ὑπέρου] ὑπνου 722 ὦ] ὦτε 757 τί B, τι Δ] σα, 'σὰ 794 δαίμονι] δαιμόνων 861 om. τὸ 872 χαῖρε repeated 899 ἰὼ] ἰών 900 ἔντ'] ἔστ' 933 περιρραγῆς] πυρορραγῆς, etc. 947 θερίσδεν] θερίδδεν 957 ἄγαντο] ἄγων τὸ 997 om. τὸ 1012 ὀπτημένας] ὀπτωμένας 1018 om. ὦ 1065 τωδεῖ] τουτωῖ 1069 γε] τις 1088 δειπνέειν γὰρ] δειπνείν 1167 μεθύοντος] μεθύων. This list could be trebled by including the less significant errors. For the metrical changes peculiar to BΔ, as well as those shared with HVP2, see below (p. 181 ff.).

A few correct readings are preserved here only: 447 ἐμπίπλαμαι BΔ] ἐμίπλαμαι 454 σε] γε 613 εἶδεν] οἶδεν 623 γε] γε καὶ 626 λόγοισιν] λόγοισι 642 πόλεσιν] πόλεσι 657 ὑποτείνων] ὑποτίνων 1196 εἴ] ἂν εἴ, ἄν, γὰρ εἴ and perhaps 743 λιμῶ] λιμοῦ. It will be observed that these are practically all readings which might easily be due to emendation on the part of a scribe; hence they do not necessarily argue a superior tradition.

What now is the exact relationship subsisting between B and Δ? The errors peculiar to Δ are not numerous, — less than twenty-five all told, — but a few of them are rather serious. Important are these: 101 λέξει Δ] λέγει B 255 ὅστις] ὅστις σ' 421^b φοίκος] φοίνικος 425 πολὺ] πολὺ πολὺ 446 εὐδαιμονίης] εὐδαιμονοίης 606 κᾶνταγέλα] κᾶν καταγέλα 801 κοὶ κοὶ] κοὶ κοὶ κοὶ 1063 τοῦξάλειπτεον] τοῦξάλειπτρον 1080 πολεμομαχαϊκὸν] πολεμολαμαχαϊκὸν 1174 ἐστὺ] ἐστὲ 1219 σκιτοδινῶ] σκοτοδινῶ. That the scribe of B should have corrected several of these errors of Δ without the aid of a second manuscript is quite possible; but that the correct readings of B in 425, 606, and 1080, — each of which is the original entry, — are to be attributed to

¹ Rm1, as will be shown later (p. 19; f.), has not the value of a MS.

the cleverness of the same scribe who retained so many of the absurd readings of Δ , seems highly improbable.¹ Furthermore, there is in B, as will be seen presently, a noteworthy confusion in the order of the verses following 1096, for which Δ offers absolutely no explanation. For these reasons, then, we cannot recognize in B a copy of Δ . Are both, then, descended from a common archetype, now lost? If so, we must recognize in B a marvellously faithful transcript of that archetype. For B, as left by the original scribe, shows only one trivial error not to be found in Δ as well (813 τροπαλλίδος B] τροπαλίδος Δ), and presumably therefore very few not present also in a common archetype of the two. More decisive evidence against the theory that B and Δ are independent copies of the same archetype is to be found in the confused order of the verses following 1096 as at first written in B. In 1097 τὸν γύλιον stands in an erasure, while at the top of the next page the order is 1107, 1119, 1098-1106, 1108-1119, etc.; later the same scribe expunged 1107 and 1119, and inserted the former in its proper place. It happens now that one of our MSS. shows us just the process by which this confusion came about: in Γ vs. 1097, 1107, and 1119 have all been added in the upper margin by the corrector, each being assigned to its place in the text by a *signum*.² The scribe of B, then, with a MS. of this description before him, wrote 1098 immediately after 1096, but noticing the reference to the margin, changed τὴν κίστην to τὸν γύλιον (thus converting 1098 into 1097) and added the other two verses from the margin, failing to observe the *signa* locating them elsewhere. Not until he reached 1118, and had his attention again directed to the margin, would he appear to have noted his error; thereupon he deleted the misplaced verses and restored 1107 to its proper place. This passage, moreover, is not the only one which suggests the omission of verses from the text of B's archetype, and their subsequent entry in the margin: vs. 957, 1135, 1137-1138, 1142, and 1158 are all later additions in B, although entered by the original hand. In a few instances single words were likewise omitted in the original writing; thus: 405 ὑπάκουσον

¹ The same reasoning will apply also to the alternative form offered by B in 146: ^{γείν} φασίν B (both entries by first hand)] φασίν Δ .

² In spite of these indications of the proper position of the omitted verses, Victorius, who secured most of his variants from Γ , made the same error at first as the scribe of B (see *Transactions of Amer. Phil. Association*, XXXVII, 1906, p. 205 f.).

595 ὅστις 973 οἷ ἔχει. If now Δ, elsewhere the more carelessly written of the two manuscripts, shows no confusion at any one of these points; as it does not, what must be our conclusion? Clearly that Δ and B were not copied from the same manuscript. And to assume an intervening manuscript between either B or Δ and a common archetype would be quite unwarranted in view of the very small number of the divergencies, as we have seen, between B and Δ. The conclusion is thus forced upon us that the archetype of Δ was none other than B itself. This, to be sure, was the only natural inference the moment all the serious errors of B were found to recur in Δ¹; but the authority of the palaeographers and editors who refer B to the sixteenth and Δ to the fifteenth century,² naturally constrained us to proceed with all due caution.

If I may be permitted to adduce other evidence at this point, it will appear that the conclusion just reached receives confirmation from the evidence to be found in the *Aves* and other plays, as well as from certain more general considerations. In the *Aves* there are approximately one hundred errors peculiar to B and Δ apart from the numerous metrical emendations; examples need not be given here. In sixty other instances Δ gives a reading inferior to that of B; a few important examples follow: 232 om. τε Δ] τε B 320 ἀφίεται] ἀφίχθαι 405 τια] τίνα 588 ὄρνιθας] οἰνάνθας παρόντες] πάρνοπες 600 δὲ τὰ τοιάδε] δέ τοι τάδε 899 μάκρας] μάκαρας 955 τὸν δὲ] τονδὶ τὸν 976 ἔστι] ἔνεστι 993 om.] σὺ 1116 χλιδανίδα] χλανίδα 1122 om. ποῦ once 1244 κλυδὸν] λυδὸν 1347 μάλι] μάλιστα 1539 εὐουλίαν] εὐβουλίαν 1647 ἄμ'] ἔμ' (?) 1682 καὶ ταῖς] ταῖς 1750 βαρυχέες] βαρναχέες. Verse 115 was omitted in Δ from its proper position, but added at the foot of the page (after vs. 125); in B there is no confusion at this point. On the other hand, Δ improves on the reading of B in but two or three places, where the correction was perfectly obvious:

¹ It is not to be expected, of course, that the appearance of the words in B should explain all the errors of Δ, several of which consist simply in the careless omission of letters. Yet there are a few instances in which B does afford some excuse for the mistake of Δ: 311 λέγεις B] λέγει Δ (λέγειν correct) 1032 τοῦπιττάλου (corrected from τοῦ πιττάλου)] τοῦ σπιττάλου 1063 τοῦξάλειπτρον] τοῦξάλειπτρον 1174 ἔστῃ] ἔσθῃ.

² The only exception, so far as I am aware, was von Velsen, who assigned Δ "saeculo XV vel XVI" (*Eg.*, p. vii).

1079 παρθένια Δ] περθένια B 1702 κἀπὸ? (hardly κἀπὶ)] κἀπὶ and possibly 1426 ὑπὸ] ὑπαὶ (changed from ὑπὸ).¹ It appears, then, that the same relationship holds for the *Aves* as for the *Acharnenses*. An examination of Blaydes' collations for the *Vespæ* points in the same direction; and a similar result would probably have been reached by Kühne for the *Lysistrata*,² had he not halted out of respect for the traditional chronology. This at least is certain, that throughout the four plays mentioned B and Δ betray the most intimate relationship; together they represent a tradition characterized chiefly by frequent interpolations made in the interest of the metre. In the case of the other play found in both, — the *Equites*, — this parallelism breaks down. Δ is here, as in the *Nubes*, closely related to Θ, according to Schnee,³ while B, as may be seen from Blaydes' critical apparatus, represents the same metrical revision in all the seven plays contained. B contains no hypotheses to any of the plays; Δ has one or more each prefixed to the *Equites*, *Nubes*, and *Ranae*. Particularly significant, in view of these facts, is the order of the plays in the two MSS.:

B: *Eq.*, *Ach.*, *Av.*, *Vesp.*, *Lys.*, *Eccl.*, *Pax*.
 Δ: *Pl.*, *Nub.*, *Eq.*, *Ran.*, *Ach.*, *Av.*, *Vesp.*, *Lys.*

What more natural explanation of the unequal character of Δ than that a manuscript closely akin to Θ⁴ (but not Θ itself, according to Schnee⁵) was used as the source of the *Nubes*, *Equites*, and *Ranae*, if not also of the *Plutus*, after which four more plays were copied from B? If my argument is sound, Δ has no independent value for the last four plays contained; it will therefore be ignored in what follows.

In the preceding discussion it is of course the tradition of B as written and corrected by the original scribe which has been considered. None of the frequent variants and none of the assignments of verses to

¹ Cf. 1017 ἀν εἰ Δ (corrected)] ἀρ εἰ BΔ; it is not easy to decide whether the few corrections in Δ are by the original hand or otherwise.

² K. Kühne, *De codicibus qui Aristophanis Ecclesiazusas et Lysistratam exhibent* (1886), p. 34. Blaydes' collations were taken as the basis of his investigation.

³ R. Schnee, *De Aristophanis codicibus capita duo* (1876), pp. 6 f., 29 ff.

⁴ The order *Pl.*, *Nub.*, *Eq.*, *Ran.* is found only in Θ and its copy, Laur. 91, 7 (cf. Zuretti, *op. cit.*, p. 13 f.), in Riccard. 36 (K. II. 22) and Barberin. I, 46. See J. W. White in *Classical Philology*, I, 1906, p. 9 ff.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 38 f.

speakers added by a second hand, from a manuscript of different tradition (see p. 188), are known to Δ. This copy was made, therefore, before the final revision of B.

a-ch-B

The more immediate connections of the various mss. are now apparent; it remains to follow back the several lines of descent to their common origin. To take up first the three families last considered, I observe that *h* betrays rather intimate relationship with *c*, while B and *c* show no direct connection with each other.

The instances of agreement in error between *h* and *c* alone are these :
 113 ἀποπέμπει *ch*] ἀποπέμψει 118 ὥς *c*, ὥς *h*] ὅς 134 θέωρ'] θέωρος,
 om. 762 ὅκ' *c*, ὅκ' *h*] ὅκκ', ὅκκ' 789 αὐτῇ *c*, αὐτῇ *h*] αὐτῆς 876 ἐρᾶ]
 ἄρα 916 om. γ' 940 πεποιθείη] πεποιθοίη 996 συκίων] συκίδων,
 συκιδίων 1000 τὰς] τοὺς 1031 κομίσωμεν] κομίσωμαι 1137 ἐμαν-
 τὸν] ἐμαντῷ (vs. om. in ΑΓΕ) 1182 κομπαλακύθου] κομπολακύθου
 1201 κἀναπιμανδαλωτόν] κἀπιμανδαλωτόν;¹ also several errors of *c*,
 involved in the metrical readings of *h* (see p. 182 f.). In μ' ἐκφέρετε
 (1224) we probably have a correct reading due to *ch*. It is interest-
 ing to observe also that the assignments of verses in these two families
 are essentially the same.²

Between B and *c* there is exclusive agreement in only these trivial
 errors: 1 om. δὴ (but so ΓΜ9 at first) 444 σκιμαλλίσω] σκιμαλίσω
 729 ἀθήναις] ἀθάναις; compare also 662 καὶ *c*, καὶ B] κοῦ.

It is between B and *h* that there seems at first to be the closest con-
 nection; more than seventy-five readings are found in these two families
 alone. Most of these are metrical changes, to be discussed a little
 later (p. 181 f.). But there are also others, of which the more important
 follow: 233 ἐπὶ *h*B] ἔτι 358 τοῦπίξηνον (τὸν πίξηνον *h*)] ἐπίξηνον
 385 στρέφεις τεχνάζει] στρέφει (στρέφειν *c*) τεχνάζεις 621 κατάρξω]

¹ Of no significance are two or three errors like the omission of *μη* in 619, whereby the reading of *h* becomes unmetrical.

² Notwithstanding the frequent omission either in *c* or in *h* of the indications of speaker, there are at least a score of instances of faulty assignment seen in these alone. In vs. 395-402, *eg.*, ΚΗΦΙΞΟΦΩΝ is found only in *ch*; in several passages the assignment between two speakers is reversed: 105-108 ΚΗ. and ΔΙ. interchanged (the only occurrence of ΠΡ. in any manuscript is in vs. 108, where RB give it), 781 ΜΕ. and ΔΙ., 1100-1102 ΛΑ. and ΔΙ. There are also various scattering changes, such as 156^b ΚΗ. *ch*] ΘΕ. 801 ΜΕ.] ΔΙ. 802 ΜΕ.] ΔΙ.

ταράξω 627 τοὺς ἀναπαίστους] τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις 738 μηχανά] μηχανά
766 παχεῖαι καὶ καλαὶ] παχεῖα καὶ καλά 770 θᾶσθαι] θᾶσθε 816 ἔρμη
ἔμπολαῖε (ἔρμη ἔμπολαῖε ἡ)] ἔρμ' ἔμπολαῖε.

There are also several readings peculiar to *c*, *h*, and B: 153 γένος
chB] ἔθνος 392 εἰσδέξεται] εἰσδέξεται 520 εἶδεν] ἴδοιεν 672 μάπτου-
σιν] μάπτωσιν 745 κῆπιτεν (so Γ²?)] κῆπιτ', κάπειτ', etc. 788 τρέ-
φεν] τράφεν 911 θήβαθεν] θείβαθεν 976 τὰ] ταῖ, τῶ¹ and a few
involved in the metrical changes of *hB*.

It appears, then, that there is no connection between B and *c* except
through some ancestor of *h*, with which B has otherwise so much in com-
mon. Now B cannot be directly descended from a ms. of the *h*-type,
because of its avoidance of the errors just seen to be peculiar to *ch*;
and that *h* goes back to a ms. of the B-type is equally out of the question.
Our only conclusion can be that an archetype of B was extensively cor-
rected from an ancestor of *h*. This archetype of B, as originally written,
will be styled *b'*,² while *h'* will be used to denote the prototype of *h*, and
c' the common archetype of *c* and *h*.

For the determination of the connection between *a* and the families
just considered the evidence is rather unsatisfactory. The instances of
exclusive agreement in error between *a* and one or two of these tradi-
tions are as follows: (1) *Errors peculiar to ac*.—66 φέροντα *ac*] φέ-
ροντας 418 om. ἐν 428 add χωλός at end 486 κατὰ] κᾶτα
555 τόνδε τὸν] τὸν δὲ 767 .ναὶ μὰ] ναὶ, νῆ 862 θείαθεν] θήβαθεν
887 om. δὲ 980 τὸ] τὸν 986 πολλῶ] πολὺ 1073 ἰέμβις (*Ac*
and probably ΓΕ)] ἰέναι σ' 1152 κακῶς δ'] κακῶς. Cf. 115 ἐπένευσεν
(ἐνένευσεν *A*, ἔπνευσεν *c*) *ac*] ἐπένευσαν. (2) *Errors peculiar to ah*.—
None. (3) *Errors peculiar to aB*.—865 προσέπταν *aB*] προσέπταιθ'
984 προσκαλουμένους] προ(σ)καλουμένου 1049 τὰ κρέα] κρέα 1083,
1084 transposed 1099 θυμοίτας(?) *a*, θυμοίτας *B*] θυμίτας 1160 αὐ-
τοῦ λαβεῖν] λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ.³ (4) *Errors peculiar to ach*.—134 θέω-

¹ The omission of τὴν (647) in *chB* must be a pure coincidence, as the verse is thereby rendered unmetrical.

² That at least one ms. (*b*) intervened between B and *b'* is indicated by the fact that only two of the many corrections made by the original scribe of B involve a metrical change.

³ The original omission in B of vs. 1107, 1119, 1135, 1137–1138, 1142, wanting also in *a*, can hardly be of significance; for in view of the extensive corrections

pos (θέωρ' *ch*) added at end of verse *ach*] om. 932 ψοφῆ] ψοφεῖ
1131 κελεύω] κελεύων. (5-6) *Errors peculiar to acB or ahB.* — None.
The most noteworthy feature of this showing is that *c* and *h*, while
constituting one family, as we have just seen, nevertheless comport
themselves differently toward *a*. The explanation, however, is not far
to seek. As will presently be seen, *h* has undergone an extensive metri-
cal revision; and it is to be observed that two-thirds of the readings
peculiar to *ac* violate the metre, while the other four were such as to
invite correction. There is no reason, then, for doubting that these
readings of *ac* were all in *c'*. Were they wanting in *b'*? This is a
question which admits of no positive answer, inasmuch as the reading
of *B* is the same in each instance as that of *h*, and may well therefore
have replaced the reading of *b'*.¹ The errors peculiar to *aB* and to
ach are neither numerous nor serious enough to establish a presumption
either way. It must remain doubtful, therefore, whether *a* is to be con-
nected any more closely with *c'* than with *b'*.

Metrical Recension of *hB*

Reference has already been made in the appropriate places to the
considerable body of metrical corrections found in *h* or *B*, commonly in
both. It has seemed best to treat them all together at this point after
the essential traditions of the manuscripts reporting them should first
have been determined. I arrange them in separate lists, according as
they appear in both *h* and *B*, or in one of these families only:

(1) *Metrical corrections found in both h and B.* — (a) Additions:
18 γε 158 ἄν 222 ὄντας 283 ἄν 295 αῦ 298 δῆ² 325 γε³
338 γὰρ 392 ἄν 502 καὶ⁴ 731 γ' 754 ἀλλὰ γὰρ 768 δῆ
'στι (δ'ῆστι *B*, δ'ῆστι *h*) 772 νῦν 819 γ' 945 γε 1017 γε
1202 νῦν 1205 ᾧ 1207 ᾧ 1210 νῦν. (b) Omissions: 62 ὥς⁵

introduced into *b'* from the *h*-tradition, it is highly improbable that these verses
should have been overlooked. The error was clearly due in every instance to
homoeoteleuton.

¹ Cf. 62 γὰρ ὥς *ac*, γὰρ *hB*] γω *R*, 'γὼ Γ²Ε² 230 ἄτ' (*ἄτε hB*) ἐμπαγῶ *ac hB*] ἀντεμπαγῶ *R*(Γ²?).

² With the exception of *R*, which reads σὺ μοι, all the other MSS. omit μοι.

³ *RA* have νυνί, the others νῦν.

⁴ *R* only has γε after νῦν.

⁵ γὰρ ὥς is read by ΑΓΕ*c*, 'γὼ by ΡΓ²Ε³.

78 τε 142 γ' 218 ἄν (second) 292 νῦν 302 ἐς 342 πάλιν
 541 καὶ 682 ὁ 767 μὰ.¹ (c) Transpositions: 61 οἱ παρὰ βασι-
 λέως πρέσβεις hB] οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως 159 δραχμὰς δύο (δύω
 Δ, and B at first) τίς] τις δραχμὰς δύο, τις δύο δραχμὰς R 178 σοὶ
 μὲν δεῦρ' ἐγὼ (δεῦρο ᾿γὼ Vp2)] ἐγὼ μὲν σοὶ δεῦρο, ἐγὼ μὲν δεῦρο σοὶ R
 340 λαρνακίδιον προδώσ' οὐδέποτε] λαρκίδιον (λαρνακίδιον c) οὐ προδώσω
 ποτέ 462 τουτὶ μόνον] μόνον τουτί (τοδί c) 803 αὐτὸς ἄν] ἄν αὐτός
 1132 δεῦρο παῖ] παῖ δεῦρο and perhaps 569 εἴτ' ἐστὶ τις] εἴ τέ τις
 ἐστὶ. (d) Changes in single words: 98 ἔκπεμψε] ἔπεμψε Γ²c, ἀπέπεμ-
 ψε(ν) 275 καταγιγαρτίσ' (καταγιγαρσίς B)] καταγιγαρτίσαι 291 εἴτα]
 ἔπειτα 294 ἀκούσομ' (ἀκούσομαι B)] ἀκούσομεν 295 σ'] σε 301 τοῖς]
 τοῖσιν 302 ποτ'] ποτε 342 βέλος] ξίφος 359 θύραζ'] θύραζε
 376 ψηφηδακεῖν] ψηφοδακεῖν, ψήφω δακεῖν 408 ἐκκυκλήθητ'] ἐκκυκλή-
 θητι Rc, ἐκκυκλήσει τί 442 ὅς] ὅστις, ὅστι c 516 ὅτ'] ὅτι 568 φίλ']
 φίλε 571 ἴσχομαι] ἔχομαι 751 αἰεὶ] αἰεὶ 769 ἄδ'] ἄδε 830 ἀλλ']
 ἀλλὰ 1170 πελεθὸν] σπελεθὸν; and probably also for metrical rea-
 sons 85 ὅλους] ὀπούς (but γρ. καὶ ὅλους IVb1EM9) 134 ὅδε] ὀδί
 230 ἄτε ἐμπαγῶ] ἄτ' ἐμπαγῶ, ἀντεμπαγῶ 271 ἐστιν] ἔστ' 728 τῇ
 ἀγορᾷ (sc. τῇ ᾿γορᾷ)] τὰγορᾷ 784 τί] ναὶ c, σά. (e) Various, accord-
 ing to tradition assumed as basis of metrical recension: 296 πρὶν ἂν
 ἀκούσητέ γ'] πρὶν γ' ἂν ἀκούσητε, πρὶν ἂν γ' ἀκούσητε, πρὶν γ' ἀκούσητ'
 362 πόθος γὰρ πάνυ με] πόθος γὰρ πάνυ ἐμέγε c, πάνυ γὰρ ἐμέγε πόθος
 405 δῆποτ'] ποτ' c, πώποτ' 448 καὶ (καὶ τοῦ h)] om. c, γε 608 ἤδη
 (so C)] om., ἀεὶ R 720 τοῖσι] om., πᾶσι R, εἶπε c 737 ὑμέων ἐπρί-
 ατο] ὑμᾶς ἐπρίατο c, ὑμέ κα πρίατο 754 γα] om. c, ἐγὼν, ἐγὼ.

(2) *Metrical changes in h only.* — 791 κὰν χροανθῇ (χροάν θῇ H) γ' ἐν]
 κὰναχροανθῇ 808 χοιρί'] χοιρία 832 πολλά γε] πολλά 867. ἂν
 γ'] γ' 911 τοῖνον γ'] τοῖνον 943 ἐστιν] ἔστ' 991 ἐμε] ἐμέ τε
 997 ὄρχον²] κλάδον 1019 κακοδαίμων γε] κακοδαίμων 1023 πόθεν
 γ'] πόθεν 1040 κατάχε] κατάχει c, κατάχει σὺ 1050 ποιῶν ὅστις
 περ] γε (om. c) ποιῶν ὅστις 1066 ἄλειφέ γε] ἄλειφε, ἀλειφέτω
 1101 σαπροῦ δεῦρο μοι] παῖ σαπροῦ δεῦρο c, δεῦρο παῖ σαπροῦ 1102 δὲ
 δὴ σὺ παῖ] δὴ σὺ παῖ c, σὺ δὴ παῖ 1153 ἂν χ' ὀλέσειεν] δ' ὀλέσειεν c,
 (δ') ἐξολέσειεν 1155 ἀπέλυσ'] ἀπέλυσεν, ἀπέλυσαν 1156 ὄν γ'] ὄν

¹ R reads νῆ, the rest ναὶ μὰ.

² Possibly nothing more than a gloss.

1179 παλίννορον ἐκεκόκκισεν] παλίννορ(ρ)ον, and ἐκεκόκκισε *c*, ἐξεκόκκισε(ν)
 1197 γε ταῖς ἐμαῖσι (ἐμαῖσιν Vp2) τύχαις] ταῖς ἐμαῖς τύχαισιν 1201 κἀνα-
 πιμανδαλωτὸν ἄν] κἀναπιμανδαλωτόν *c*, κἀπιμανδαλωτόν 1202 ἐκπέπωκά
 γε¹] ἐκπέπωκα 1212 ἰὼ ἰὼ] ἰὼ 1215, 1217 προσλάβεσθ' ἐμ' (so *c* in
 1215)] προσλάβεσθ(ε) and probably 838, 848, 855 τῇ ἀγορᾷ (*sc.* τῇ
 ἴγορᾷ)] τὰγορᾷ, ἀγορᾷ (855).

(3) *Metrical changes in B only.* — 162 γ' ὁ] ὁ 437 ἐπειδήπερ γ']
 ἐπειδήπερ 623 γε] γε καὶ 841 γε καθεδεῖται] καθεδεῖται 847 σε
 καταπλήσει] ἀναπλήσει 946 γέ σοι] σοι 954 ἴθι δὴ ὑπὸκυπτε τὰν
 τύλαν] ὑπὸκυπτε τὰν τύλαν ᾧ (ἰὼν R) 1196 εἰ] ἂν εἰ, ἂν, γὰρ εἰ
 1230 νῦν γ'] νῦν and probably 20 ἦδεῖ] αὐτῇ; also a few in-
 stances of the addition of *ν*-movable (189, 626, 642).²

(4) *h and B corrected differently.* — 824 οἷδ' ἀγορανόμοι *h*, ᾧ ἀγορανό-
 μοι B] ἀγορανόμοι 869 καὶ τὰ ἄνθεα *h*, τὰνθεια B] τὰνθεια 1194-
 1195 οὖν αἰακτὸν ἂν οἰμωκτὸν ἂν γένοιτό μοι *h*, οὖν αἰακτὸν οἰμωκτὸν γένοιτ'
 ἂν μοι B] αἰακτὸν οἰμωκτὸν ἂν γένοιτό μοι.

Of the readings peculiar to *h*, several, it will have been observed,
 clearly presuppose the error now seen elsewhere only in *c*: 1040 om.
 σὺ 1050 om. γε 1102 δὴ σὺ παῖ 1153 ὀλέσειεν 1179 ἐκεκόκ-
 κισε, and perhaps 1215 προσλάβεσθ' ἐμ', while some disturbed order
 such as that of *c* is certainly responsible for the correction in 1101; the
 changes in 1019 and 1066 are based on errors (σαντὸν and ἄλειφε) found
 in *c* and one or two other mss. In view of the obvious connection, then,
 between *h* and *c* we may assign here without hesitation 976 γέ *h*] om.
c, δῆ.

The metrical changes of B, on the contrary, afford no more definite
 clue to the nature of the underlying tradition than to show that it was
 not that of R.³ But this we already knew.⁴

Of the corrections found in both *h* and B half a dozen are based on
 the reading of *c* alone: 340 λαρνακίδιον 362 πόθος γὰρ, πᾶν ἐμέγε

¹ This in addition to the insertion of νῦν before πρῶτος, shared with B.

² For the sake of completeness I add a few peculiar readings of B which might
 possibly be thought to belong here: 336 θ' ἡλικά (but preceded by ἀρα) B] τὸν
 ἡλικά 458 om. μοι (μὴ ἀλλά counted as three syllables?) 657 ὑποτείνων] ὑπο-
 τίνων 739 ὕμμε] ὕμέ, ὕμες, ὕμας 922 ὕδρορῶας.

³ The elaborate change in 954 would have been utterly groundless had ἰὼν (R)
 stood in the archetype.

⁴ See p. 159 f.

405 ποτ' 448 om. γε 737 ἐπρίατο 754 om. ἐγὼν¹ perhaps also 784 ναὶ. A few others are based on readings shared by *c* with one or another of the older MSS.: 98 ἔπεμψε Γ²*c* 408 ἐκκυκλήθητι R*c* 772 θυματιδᾶν AE2*c*; elsewhere the reading underlying the metrical revision is common to *c* and nearly all the older MSS.

The bearing of this evidence upon the question of the relationship sustained by *h* to *c* has already been anticipated in large part (p. 179); on the other hand, the lack of any essential connection between B and *c* is now further emphasized. It is probable, therefore, that to the list of readings borrowed by *b'* on other than metrical grounds (see p. 179 f.) we should add those in the succeeding list common to *c*, *h*, and B; for it is hardly to be supposed that in many, if any, of these verses the same error had been developed in *b'* as in *c'*. The few metrical changes peculiar to B can be explained most simply on the supposition that they were manufactured in imitation of those found in the MS. of the *h*-tradition.

If I am right in believing that the sole MS. source of *h'* was *c'*, it naturally follows that none of the metrical emendations peculiar to *h* or *hB* can rest on anything more authoritative than the conjectural skill of some late metrician, except as the scholia (with which *c'* presumably was provided) may have offered suggestions. The readings of *h* and *hB* which have been looked upon with more or less favor by editors are the following: (1) 997 ὄρχον *h*] κλάδον 1212 ἰὼ ἰὼ] ἰὼ; (2) 222 γέροντας ὄντας *hB*] γέροντας 338 ἀλλὰ γὰρ²] ἀλλὰ 376 ψηφηδακεῖν] ψηφοδακεῖν, ψήφῳ δακεῖν 768 δὴ 'στι χοῖρος] χοῖρος, χοῖρος ἦδε R. In vs. 291-292 the reading σπεισάμενος εἴτα δύνασαι πρὸς ἔμ' ἀποβλέπειν (*hB*), in place of σπεισάμενος ἔπειτα δύνασαι νῦν πρὸς ἔμ' ἀποβλέπειν of the other MSS., is manifestly due to the statement of the scholiast on vs. 300, ὡς οὖν ἄνω τὸ νῦν περιττεύει, κτέ.

CORRECTING HANDS

The MSS. which have been corrected extensively from a second tradition are Γ, E, and B³; in Γ we see yet a third tradition represented by

¹ Following this word *c* read *τυνόθεν*, R *τηνῶθεν*, the rest *τηνόθεν*.

² Perhaps the lemma of the scholium.

³ The few corrections entered in R by a second hand are insufficient to shed any light upon the nature of the tradition followed by the corrector. In Vp2 about a

a score of corrections in a late hand. I now proceed to examine the readings of these correcting hands, in order to determine as precisely as possible the nature of the traditions involved.

Γ²-E²

In virtually every place where both Γ and E have been corrected, it has been to the same reading¹; so that we have here to deal with but a single tradition. A goodly number of these corrected readings appear nowhere else; such are: 105 οἱμοι μοι Γ²E²] οἱμοι 303 ἂν ἀκούσαιμι] ἀκούσομαι 376 ψήφω δακεῖν] ψηφοδακεῖν, ψηφηδακεῖν 582 μοι] μου 664 λακκοκαταπύγων] λακατ(τ)απύγων, καταπύγων 754 ἐμπορευόμεν] ἐμπορευόμαν 762 ἐσβαλεῖτε] ἐσβάλητε 775 ἦμεναι] εἶμεναι 778 σιγᾶς] σιγῆς 782 κύστος] κύσθος 788 χῶρος] χοῖρος 796 om. ἂν 830 χοιρίδια] χοιρίδι 889 σκέψασθε δὲ] σκέψασθε 987 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν 1036 τοῖν βοιδίῳ] βοιδίῳ 1106 ξανθικὸν] ξανθὸν and probably 2 μὲν] δέ.²

The closest agreement between Γ²E² and our extant MSS. is with R and B. The significant examples follow: (1) 62 ᾧ Γ²E², γω R] γὰρ ὧς, γὰρ 381 κᾶπλυνεν] κἀπέπλυνεν 485 ἐπήγεσ' ἄγε] ἐπήνεσά γε 772 θυμητιδᾶν Γ²E², θυμητίδαν R] θυματιδᾶν, etc. 911 δεὺς] ζεύς 1032 τοῦ πιττάλου (the original reading of B)] τοὺς πιττάλου 1232 ἐπέψόμεσθα Γ²E², ἐποψόμεσθα R] ἐψόμε(σ)θα. (2) 795 τῶνδε Γ²E²B] τᾶνδε³ 933 τε] τι 965 τρισὶ] τρεῖς 988 ταῖς χάρισι] χάρισι 1066 ἀλειφέτω] ἄλειφε, ἄλειφέ γε 1202 χάα] χοᾶ.⁴ With the other MSS. there are no cases of agreement of any significance.

These lists can each be paralleled from the frequent corrections

dozen corrections have been entered on the first two hundred verses by a second hand, which also wrote the few scholia at the beginning of the play; they do not point clearly to any tradition otherwise known.

¹ The only exceptions I have discovered are 739 ὑμὲ Γ², ὑμὲ(σ) E²] ὕμε Γ, om. E 898 ἰώγα Γ²B², ἰώγα E²] ἰώγε 1052 στρατεύητ' Γ², στρατεύοιτ' E²] στρατεύηται. In the case of the first the σ in E is clearly a subsequent addition; it is not joined to ε in a ligature. The second is trivial; and in the third Γ² has simply failed to make the change thorough-going.

² There are also several instances of peculiar verse-division.

³ Followed by τῶν Γ²E²RB] τᾶν.

⁴ The case of 798 κᾶν ἄνευ Γ²E²B] κᾶνευ hardly belongs here, inasmuch as the reading of B goes back presumably to /i/ (corrupted in /h/ to καὶ ἄνευ), not to δ/.

made in Γ alone. Thus we have a number of unique readings: 98 βασιλεῦ Γ^2] βασιλεὺς 256 ὀρθριος] ὀρθρος 296 πρὶν ἂν γ' ἀκούσητε] πρὶν γ (ἂν) ἀκούσητε, πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσητέ γ' 379 om. μ' 592 ἐψώλησας] ἀπεψώλησας 601 οἶος (sc. οἶος)] οἶους 635, 636 transposed 687 ἐπέων(?)] ἐπῶν, ἱππων 691 με χρῆν] μ' ἐχρῆν 814 τὸν] τὸ 832 μὴν] μὲν, μὴν 890 ποθουμένην ἔτει] ἔτει ποθουμένην 910 ἐμῶ] ἐμά 1022, 1023 transposed.¹ Γ^2 agrees (1) with R alone: 259 σφῶν $\Gamma^2 R$] σφῶϊν 314 om. ἂν 510 καὶ τοῖς] καὶ τοῖς 535 μεγαρῆς] μεγαρεῖς 540 ἐχρῆν] χρῆν, ἔχρῆν 976 ἐπτέρωται (R^2)] ταῖ, τὰ, etc. 1130 ἔνδηλος] εὐδηλος²; (2) with B alone: 836 προβαίνει $\Gamma^2 B$] προβαίνει 862 ὑμεῖς] ὑμεῖς 910 ἐστὶν] ἐστὶ 922 ὑδρορίας] ὑδρορροάς 991 ξυναγάγη] ξυναγάγοι 995 ἐλάσω Γ^2 , ἐλάσω B] ἐλάσαι 1097 found only in $\Gamma^2 B^3$; (3) with ϵ alone: 98 ἔπεμψε $\Gamma^2 \epsilon$] ἀπέπεμψε, ἔκπεμψε 722 πολεῖν] πωλεῖν 900 ἔστ'] ἔστ', ἔντ'.

Of the corrections entered in E alone I note: (1) 284 συντερίψετε E^2] συντερίψετε 522 κάπέπρατ'] κάπέπραθ', κάπέπραθ', καὶ πέπρατ' 759 παρ' ἐμέ] παρὰ μέ, παρ' ἀμέ 796 ἐμπεπαρμένων] ἐμπεπαρμένον 930 οἶτος] οὕτως 1144 ἔρχησθον] ἔρχεσθον 1158 κειμένην] κειμένη; (2) 202 ἄξω $E^2 R$] αὖξω; (3) 134 om. $E^2 RB$] θέωρ(ος).

To sum up our evidence bearing on the tradition of the lost MS. (which may be termed ϵ), we find three dozen readings not otherwise known, only four or five of which are good readings (296, 376, 522, 601; and 775?). Of the fifteen readings shared with R alone five at least are errors (259, 314, 772, 1032, 1232, and perhaps 540); of the thirteen recurring only in B eight or nine are of no value (795, 836, 862, 910, 922, 988, 991, 995, and perhaps 933). These errors shared with R or B are all very trivial taken singly, and it is doubtful whether even nine of them could justly be regarded as arguing any connection between ϵ and B; while if ϵ was more closely connected with R than with the common archetype of our other MSS. it is certainly strange that no more of the good readings peculiar to R should have been found and appreciated by the correctors of Γ and E. On the other hand, the larger

¹ Pertinent here perhaps is also 341 τοὺς λίθους νῦν μοι χαμάζε πρῶτον ἐξεράσατε] τ. ν. μ. λ. π. χ. ἐ. Γ , τ. ν. μ. λ. χ. π. ἐ. Yet this correction may not be by Γ^2 .

² Perhaps also 230 ἀντεπαγῶ] ἄτ' ἐμπαγῶ.

³ Possibly a few others such as 1150 ψεκᾶδος] ψακάδος 1158 τραπέζης] τραπέζη. But these look much more like the corrections of Γ^3 .

part of the errors peculiar to *ac* or to *ach* (see p. 180 f.) have been corrected in at least one of the two MSS.; the exceptions are the errors seen in vs. 418, 428, 767, — three out of a total of fifteen. Of the six errors peculiar to *aB* those of vs. 865, 984, 1049, and 1160 were not corrected; but none of these were obvious errors, and might easily be overlooked. We conclude, then, that *e* and the archetype of *ac'*¹ were independent representatives of one great family, distinct from the tradition of *R*.

Γ³

This is the same late hand which has entered in the margins of many of the folia of the *Acharnenses* frequent catch-words referring to the adjacent scholia, and is the hand likewise to which is due the enumeration of the folia of each play, as *αχ α*, *αχ β*, etc. It is not in all cases easy to distinguish between the corrections of this hand and those of the one just considered, particularly where only a letter or two or an accent has been changed. The changes which may be assigned unhesitatingly to Γ³ are these: 5 ἄγωδ' Γ³] ἐγὼ δ' Γ 11 ἀνείπεν] ἀνείπ' 18 κονίας γε] κονίως Γ², κονίως Γ 72 ἔπαλξιν] ἔπαρξιν 78 καταφαγεῖν] καταφνγεῖν τε 79 λευκαστάς] λαικαστάς 115 ἄνδρες] ἄνδρα 158 ἀποτέθρωκεν ἄν] ἀποτέθρωκεν 342 βέλος (later crossed)] ξίφος 419 δύσποτος] δύσποτος 483 γραμμή] γαμμή 796 ἐς] om. Γ², ἄν Γ? 868 φυσάντες] φύσαντες Γ², φυσῶντες Γ 1014 ὑποσκάλευε] ὑποσκάλανε 1080 πολεμολαμαχαῖκόν] πολεμολαχαῖκόν 1156 ἐπίδοιμι] ἐπίδομι. Very probably due to Γ³ are: 2 δὲ (so Γ)] μὲν Γ² 1150 ψεκάδος] ψακάδος 1155 ἀπέλυσεν] ἀπέλυσαν 1158 τραπέζης] τραπέζη. Of these readings five are found elsewhere only in *B*: 5 (ἄγ' ᾧδ'), 79, 796, 1150, 1158; four or five occur only in *B* and *Vp211*: 18, 78 (omission of τε), 158 (addition of ἄν), 342, and perhaps 868 (*Vp3C* have φυσάντες). The rest all occur in *B* and several others. It is evident, then, that these corrections have all been taken from *B*¹ or an archetype of *B*; that *B* itself was the source will appear in the next section.

Not one of these readings appears in *Vb1*, although in several instances they are entered in such a manner that to overlook them would have been impossible.

¹ Δ is excluded as a possible source by its error in vs. 1080, πολεμολαμαχαῖκόν.

B²

We have already seen that the readings of Γ^3 are from a ms. of the B-tradition, if not from B itself; I will now endeavor to show that borrowing took place in the opposite direction as well, — in other words, that Γ was the principal source of the entries of B², whether variants or the abbreviations of speakers. That this was the case is indicated not only by the readings themselves, but also externally by the apparent identity of the hands Γ^3 and B².

If the evidence offered by the readings should seem somewhat meagre, we need only recall the close relationship holding between Γ and the other descendants of α , particularly Vb₁, in order to realize that we could not reasonably expect a list of a few score plausible readings chosen from Γ to include any considerable number not shared with some other ms. There is, in fact, but one reading of B² to be found elsewhere only in Γ : 354 φέρον Γ^2 B²] φέρων, φέρειν R. Two more readings are shared with the copy of Γ : 689 τοῦτ' Γ^2 Vb₁B²] κατ' 898 ἰωγα] ἰώγα, ἰώγε. In several instances a reading is found only in Γ Vb₁ and either (1) A, or (2) EM₉E₂: (1) 69 ὁδοιπλανῶντες Γ Vb₁AB²] ὁδοιπλανοῦντες 82 ὄρων] ὄρων 522 καπέπραχθ' ¹] καπέπρατ', καπέπραθ', καί πέπρατ' B; (2) 346 στρόφιγγι Γ^2 Vb₁E²M₉E₂B²] στροφῇ 759 αἶπερ or αἶπερ] ἄπερ, ἄπερ 1199 κυδωνιά (κυδωνιά B²)] κυδώνια. Variants which B² could have obtained from any of the descendants of α , but not elsewhere, are: 143 ἀληθῶς Γ Vb₁AEM₉E₂B²] ἀληθῆς 563 οὐδὲν] οὐδὲ 754 ἐγών] ἐγὼ, γα (B), om. The only readings of B² which are not to be found in Γ are these: 100 ἀπίσονα B²] ἀπίσσονα Γ , ἀπίσσομαι B 234 βαλλήναδε] παλλήναδε Γ B 520 εἶδειεν] ἴδοιεν Γ , εἶδεν B 632 καὶ νῦν (as alternative to νυνὶ)] νυνὶ Γ , καὶ B 832 μὰν(?)] μὴν Γ^2 , μὲν B 914 ἀδικήμενος] ἀδικείμενος Γ , ἀδικοίμενος B 917 θρναλλίδας] θρναλλίδας Γ B 927 φέρη] φέρω 976 ἄμα δὲ (δὲ erased?)] ἄμα. Of these, βαλλήναδε was to be found in the scholium of Γ , while θρναλλίδας had just occurred in 916 in both Γ and B; the spellings ἀπίσονα and εἶδειεν are pretty certainly errors of the copyist. The rest are unique, unless we except ἀδικήμενος (αδικημενος R, ἀδικημένος HVp₂Vp₃C), which was probably based on the form found in Γ ; whether the variants on 632, 832, 927, and 976 were taken from a ms. now lost, or were invented

¹ The evident intent of B², who has written χθ' over -τ' of καὶ πέπρατ'.

by the corrector of B, cannot be determined with certainty, although the latter assumption would seem the more probable.

In the matter of the assignments of verses the evidence is somewhat meagre, it must be admitted; yet I believe there are no differences between Γ and B^2 which cannot easily be explained on the assumption of a little originality on the part of the corrector. Γ , for instance, has none of the assignments for vs. 395-446; but with a very few exceptions these were easily to be supplied. And that either our corrector or some predecessor was guessing part of the time is sufficiently clear from his assignment of 395^b, 396, 397^b, 402^b, and 434 to ΠΑΙΣ (found in no other MS.), also of 1135-1139 to ΔΙ., ΛΑ., ΔΙ., ΛΑ., ΔΙ. respectively (1135, 1137-1138 omitted in ΑΓΕ).¹ In a very few other instances B^2 supplies single assignments carelessly omitted in Γ , or omits those occurring in Γ ; there is actual contradiction only twice: 54 ΠΡΥΤΑΝΙΣ (changed from Κ) B^2] ΚΗ. Γ 108 ΠΡ. (so R)] ΚΗ. On the other hand, a few assignments of B^2 occur elsewhere only in Γ and its copy, or in Γ and E with their copies: (1) 104 ΨΕΥΔΑΡ^T B^2 , ΨΕΥΔΑΡ^{TAS} Γ Vb₁] ΨΕΥ^{ΔΤ'}, ΨΕΥΔΑΡ^{TB}, etc., om. 1048 ΠΑ'ΝΥ^{ΣΙΣ} (?) B^2 ΠΝ^{ΑΥ}, — Γ , Π'ΝΥ, — Vb₁] (ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ Η) ΠΑΡΑΝΥΜΦΟΣ, om.; (2) 165^a ΘΕ. Γ Vb₁ ΕΜ9 Ε2 B^2] om., — Α 208 ΗΜΙΧ.] om. 209 ΗΜΙΧ.] ΧΟ., om. 956 ΔΙ.] om. 1209 ΔΙ.] ΛΑ., — RΑ.

In view of the nature of the evidence just examined, I may be permitted to introduce by way of corroboration the evidence afforded by the *Aves*. There I discover these readings of B^2 now found elsewhere only in Γ or in ΓU^2 : (1) *Av.* 645 θριῶθεν B^2 , θρίωθεν³ Γ] θριᾶθεν B, κριῶθεν, θρίηθεν 933 σπιλάδα] σπολάδα⁴; (2) 681 ἄδὺν $\Gamma U B^2$] ἡδὺν 853-854 σεμνὰ σεμνὰ] σεμνὰ 1065 αὐξανόμενον] αὐξανόμενα 1066 ἐφεζόμενοι (Γ^2)] ἐφεζόμενα 1301 ἦν που] ὅπου. The text of Γ accounts for all the variants of B^2 except the following: 121 εὐέριον B^2]

¹ Similarly 1083 and 1084 are given by B^2 to ΔΙ. and ΛΑ. respectively because 1084 precedes (in Γ the correct order has been restored and the assignments reversed); 137 and 138 are properly given to ΔΙ. and ΘΕ. (137 omitted in Γ , 138 assigned to ΔΙ.).

² In the *Aves* U (Cod. Vaticano-Urbinas 141) associates itself rather closely with Γ , although by no means a copy of the latter. E and A follow distinct traditions.

³ Later corrected thus: θριῶθεν.

⁴ Cf. 303 νέωτος(?) B^2 , νέοτος Γ .

ἐῦρον Γ 593 χρυσᾶ] χρηστά 1412 τανυσίπτεροι] τανυσίπτερε 1496 ἐνος
 over συγκαλυμμός (sc. συγκεκαλυμμένος)] συγκαλυμμός 1498 ὦρα] ἄρα
 1615 βαβακατρεῦ] ναβαισατρεῦ. Of these variants those in 121 and
 1412 could have been taken from the scholia in Γ, likewise that in 1496
 from the interlinear note over 1494, ending with συγκεκαλυμμένος; ὦρα
 in 1498 is explained by the gloss of Γ², ἀντὶ τοῦ ποία ὦρα. Only τανυ-
 σίπτεροι (1412) and συγκεκαλυμμένος (1496) occur in the text of any of
 our MSS., the former in E and its copies, the latter in M8. The source
 of the other two readings, χρυσᾶ and βαβακατρεῦ must remain uncertain;
 the latter occurs in Suidas, and we may compare βαβαὶ σατρεῦ of M8.¹
 The assignment of verses in B² differs from that of Γ in twenty places
 in the *Aves*. In nine of these the corrector of B has simply overlooked
 the entry of Γ, there being no intentional change; thrice an obvious
 omission of Γ is supplied. In 646 and 647 ΟΙ ΔΥΟ of Γ has been
 changed to ΠΕΙ., in 648 ΑΝΘΡΩ Η ΕΠΟΨ to ΠΕΙ., 656 ΑΝΘΡ to ΕΥ.,
 in 1693 ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ to ΠΕΙ.; the other differences are trivial. The
 following assignments are peculiar to Γ and B²: 158 ΠΕΙ. ΓB²] ΕΥ., om.
 274^a. ΕΥ.] ΠΕΙ., om. 359^a. ΕΥ.] om. 359^b. ΠΕΙ.] om. 511 ΕΥ.
 Η ΧΟ.] ΕΠ., ΧΟ., om. 1170 ΕΤΕΡΟΣ ΑΓΓ.] ΑΓΓ. 1329 ΚΗΡ.]
 ΠΕΙ., om. 1720 om.] ΧΟ., ΗΜΙΧ. To which should be added
 two agreements between ΓB² and U²: 228 ΑΗΔΩΝ ΓUB²] om.
 1325 om.] ΧΟ. Peculiar to Γ and B² are also the metrical directions,
 1058 ἀντωδὴ ἦτοι στροφὴ and 1088 ὠδὴ ἦτοι ἀντιστροφή.³

SUIDAS

It remains finally to determine the position of Suidas with respect to
 the fundamental traditions now recognized. I observe, then, in the first
 place, that the instances of agreement in error between Suidas and any
 one of the traditions represented by our MSS. are so rare as to be clearly

¹ In the *Aves* there was not the same reciprocal borrowing on the part of Γ as in
 the *Ach.* The only instance apparently of a correction entered by Γ³ (presumably
 from B) is the addition of vs. 115 in the margin.

² Indications of speaker occur in U in a very few places where the scribe mis-
 took them for part of the text; before 1325, which in U is on the same line as 1324,
 no space has been left to indicate a change in speaker.

³ At vs. 769, however, B² emended ἀντωδὴ ἦ καὶ στροφὴ (στρωφὴ Γ) of ΓΕ to
 ἀντωδὴ ἦ καὶ ἀντιστροφή.

fortuitous.¹ Furthermore, Suidas has several good readings not to be found in any of our MSS.: 119 ἐξυρημένε S] ἐξυρημένε MSS. 158 ἀπο-
τεθρίακεν] ἀποτέθρακεν, ἀποτέθρωκεν 441 ὅσπερ²] ὥσπερ 581 εἰλιγ-
γιῶ] ηλιγγιῶ(?) R, ἱλιγγιῶ 657 οὐδ' . . . οὐδ' οὐθ' . . . οὐτ' (οὐδ' R);
perhaps also 391 ἀλλ' εἴτ' 981 πάροις] παροίσις. Cf. 772 θυμι-
τίδων] θυμητιδᾶν, θυματιδᾶν, etc. A few other good readings are shared
by but one or two of our MSS.: 230 ἀντεμπαγῶ R(Γ²?)S] ἄτ' ἐμπαγῶ,
etc. 608 ἀεὶ RS] om., ἥδη 671 κυκῶσι S, ἀνακυκῶσι R] ἀνακυκλῶσι
846 σ' RS] om. 657 ὑποτείνων BS] ὑποτίνων, etc. 991 ἐμὲ ἥS]
ἐμέ τε 354 φέρον Γ²B²S] φέρων 510 αὐτοῖς S, καὐτοῖς RΓ²] καὐτὸς
1160 λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ RḥS] αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν. Cf. 973 οἶον ἔχει σπεισάμε-
νος S, οἱ ἔχει σπεισάμενος Γ²EB, σπεισάμενος οἱ ἔχει R] σπεισάμενος.
Was the ms. used by Suidas the archetype of any of our MSS.? The
evidence against such a relationship is rather slight, it must be admitted,
chiefly owing to the very small number of errors peculiar to the lexi-
cographer which can be confidently attributed to his manuscript source.
Perhaps the most certain instances are 301 om. ποτ' (s.vv. κατατεμῶ,
καττύματα) and 351 ἐπετίλῃσεν³ (s.vv. ἐπετίλῃσιν, λάρκος, μαρίλη).⁴
Two others occurring only in B (and Γ³) of our MSS. are 1150 ψεκᾶ-
δος and 1158 τραπέζης (s.vv. τευθίδες, ψεκᾶς, etc.).⁵ That R was
not descended from this ms. of Suidas is further indicated by the errors
οἶος (321) and λέγειν (496) common to Suidas and the other MSS.,
where R reads οἶον and λέγε. Few as these significant errors of Suidas
are, they would seem to be sufficient, nevertheless, to show that his ms.
did not lie directly back of any of ours. That it was, however, derived
eventually from the same corrupt archetype is made clear by the pres-

¹ The more important are these: 144 ἔγραφον ἥBS] ἔγραφ' 181 μαρathonομά-
χοι ATS] μαρathonουάχαι (Γ²) 405 ποτ' cS] πάποτ, δήποτ' 463 σπογγίφ RES]
σφογγίφ 762 ἐ(ι)σβαλεῖτε Γ²E²S] ἐσβάλητε 1150 ψεκᾶδος Γ³BS] ψακάδος
1158 τραπέζης Γ³BS] τραπέζη. Several of these errors may well have originated
after Suidas' time.

² S. v. εἶναι.

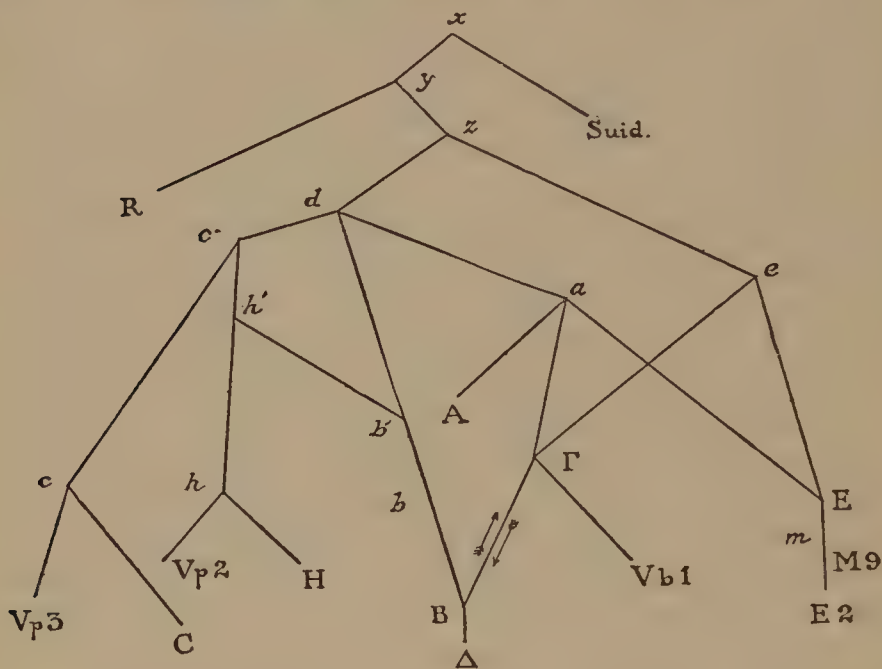
³ Blaydes is mistaken in attributing this reading to Γ; that ms. has ἐνετίλῃσεν.

⁴ Very doubtful are 35 ἥδειν S] ἥδει MSS. 392 προσδέξεται] ἐ(ι)σδέξεται
512 παρακεκομμένα] κεκομμένα, διακεκομμένα R 1086 κίστιν] κίστην 1153 ἀπο-
λέσειεν] ἐξολέσειεν, ὀλέσειεν. Each of these occurs but once in Suidas.

⁵ These are both very natural corruptions; the error in B evidently cannot go
back to the common archetype of ac'b'.

ence in Suidas of the following errors common to all the extant MSS. :
 348 παρνάσ(σ)ιοι MSS. S] παρνήσιοι 390 τήν] τιν' 459 κυλίσκιον]
 κοτυλίσκιον 634 λόγοισι] λόγοις 813 ἔτερον] ἄτερον 850 οὐδ'
 prefixed to verse.

The results which we have now reached regarding the various traditions of the *Acharnenses* may be summed up in the following *stemma* :



No attempt is made here to indicate with any precision the relative chronology of the lost archetypes. The few errors just seen to belong to *x* were nearly all due to deliberate emendation; palaeographical considerations, therefore, offer us no aid in this instance. But of the errors of *y* (cf. p. 159),—some of which may well have been in *x*,—a few clearly presuppose a minuscule archetype: 256 ἦττον for ἦττους 615 ὑπὲρ for ὑπ' 1102 ἐν παῖ for δημοῦ and perhaps 347 πάντες for πάντως 391 εἰτ' for ἀλλ'. None are more easily explained on the basis of uncial forms. At the earliest, then, *y* cannot have been written before the latter part of the ninth century, while a considerably later date is quite possible. There is in the *Acharnenses*, therefore, no direct evidence tending to disprove Zacher's theory that the common arche-

type of all our mss. and Suidas was a variorum edition prepared near the beginning of the tenth century.¹

For the textual critic the significance of the results set forth in this *stemma* requires little explanation. It will be seen, first, that for the comparatively few verses quoted by Suidas the united testimony of the mss. should count as but a single unit against the authority of the lexicographer. Of the two main traditions represented by our mss., both of them quite corrupt, that of R is inferior. For R, as we have already seen (p. 160), has some 160 peculiar errors, important and trivial, while those common to all the mss. of the other tradition amount to but 40; there were of course yet other errors in *z*, where the derived mss. now show divergent readings, but such instances are not numerous enough to affect materially the ratio. The authority of R alone, then, is not equal to that of the other mss. combined; but the support of any family of the other tradition is enough to turn the scales in R's favor. Γ and E are less corrupt than A simply because of the extensive correction they have undergone. Readings peculiar to Vp₂H or to Vp₂H B Δ have not the authority of an unbroken tradition behind them; they cannot be traced back of *h'*. Vb₁, M₉, E₂, and Δ are of no importance beside their parent mss.; while Rm₁, as will be seen presently (p. 197 f.), has even less title to a place in the critical editions of the future.

THE ALDINE EDITION

- 61 οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως RAΓEc²
οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως πρέσβεις *h*Bald.
- 296 ἀλλ' ἀνάσχεσθ' ὦγαθοί R*ch*B
ἀλλ' ἀνάσχοιθ' ὦγαθοί AΓ
ἀλλ' ἀνάσχοισθ' ὦγαθοί EAld.
- 340 λαρκίδιον οὐ προδώσω ποτέ RAΓEAld.
λαρνακίδιον οὐ προδώσω ποτέ *c*
λαρνακίδιον προδώσ' οὐδέποτε *h*B
- 1050 καλῶς γε ποιῶν ὅστις ἦν RAΓEB
καλῶς ποιῶν ὅστις ἦν *c*

¹ Zacher, *Handschriften und Classen der Aristophanesscholien*, in *Jahrb. für class. Philol., Suppl.* XVI, p. 736 ff.

² For convenience I shall use in this section Γ = ΓVb₁, E = EM₉E₂, *h* = Vp₂H, *c* = Vp₃C, B = BΔ.

καλῶς ποιῶν ὅστις περ ἦν *h*Ald.
1097 found only in *I*²Bald.

The above examples are thoroughly typical of the complex tradition seen in the Aldine text of the *Acharnenses*. It is clear at once that at least two MSS. must have been employed, one containing a metrical recension similar to that preserved in *Vp*²*H*, and another representing the old tradition. It will be in order first to identify, if possible, these two MSS., and we shall then be in a position to determine whether there is evidence for the use of yet a third source.

(1) *Ms. containing metrical recension*. — That this MS. was very intimately related to *h* will appear from the following considerations. Of the more than three score metrical corrections seen in *h*B (p. 181 f.) Aldus has all but fifteen (62, 78, 98,¹ 230, 295, 301, 302, 338, 340, 342, 376, 568, 737, 784, 1205); of the two dozen changes peculiar to *h* (p. 182 f.) he has all but six² (855, and the absurdities of 1019, 1040, 1066, 1153, 1179); in 824, 869, 1194–1195 (see p. 183) *h* is followed instead of B. Even where no considerations of metre are involved, readings peculiar to *h* have been adopted in at least nine instances: 633 φασὶ *h*Ald.] φησὶν, φησὶ 790 ταῦτοῦ] τῷτοῦ, τῷτοῦ, τοῦ, τοῦ, etc. 798 ποτεῖδαν] ποτείδα, ποτίδα, ποσειδῶ, etc. 965 λόφους] λόφοις 973 σπεισάμενον] σπεισάμενος, οἱ ἔχει σπεισάμενος 998 ἅπαν ἐλαΐδας] ἐλαΐδας ἅπαν 1032 κλαῖε] κλαῖε, κλαῖ 1146 ῥιγῶντι Ald., ῥυγῶντι *h*] ῥιγῶν καὶ, ῥιγῶν καὶ 1196 γὰρ] ἄν, om.² Of readings peculiar to B, on the other hand, Aldus has only five: 448 καὶ] γε *RAΓE*, καὶ τοῦ *h*, om. *c* 581 γὰρ ὦν] γὰρ 626 λόγοισιν] λόγοισι 768 δ' ἦστι Ald., δ' ἦστι B] δ' ἐστὶ *h*, om. 1221 σκοτοδινίῳ] σκοτοβινίῳ *RG*²*hc*, vs. omitted in others. Two of these are quite trivial, while it is altogether probable that in *h'* and some of its descendants as well the metrical corrections καὶ (448) and δ' ἦστι (768) had not as yet been corrupted. In such an archetype of *h* ὦν may have stood over γὰρ (581) as gloss.⁴ We must conclude, then,

¹ ἀπέμψε in the Aldine is evidently a misprint for ἀπέπεμψε, not for ἔπεμψε.

² In 1197 Aldus outdoes *h*: γε ταῖς ἐμαῖσιν ἂν τύχαις Ald.] γε ταῖς ἐμαῖσιν τύχαις *h*, ταῖς ἐμαῖς τύχαισιν.

³ The assignments of several verses in the Aldine are based on *h*: 253 *MH*. (whence also Ald. in 244) *h*Ald.] om. 259 *ΔI*] om. 395^b *KH*] om., *ΠΑΙΞ* 434 *ΘE*] om., *ΠΑΙΞ*.

⁴ For a few places where Aldus agrees with B and others against *h*, see p. 196.

that an archetype of Vp₂H, probably anterior to *h*, was the source used by Aldus for his metrical readings as well as for various others.

(2) *Ms. of the old tradition.* — Our problem here is to discover that one of the MSS. R, A, Γ, Vb₁, E, M₉, E₂, Vp₃, C which shall account for the greatest number of Aldine readings not derivable from *h*. That this search quickly narrows down to the E-group will appear from the following comparisons, in which are included only the more important instances of agreement between Aldus and two or three groups at the most:¹ 62 ᾿γὼ RΓ²E²] γὰρ ὥς, γὰρ 296 ἀνάσχοισθ' E] ἀνάσχεσθ', ἀνάσχοιθ' 302 κατύμματα E] καττύματα, κατόμματα C 337 om. ὑμῖς AE 376 ψήφῳ δακεῖν Γ²E²] ψηφοδακεῖν, ψηφηδακεῖν 664 λακκοκαταπύγων Ald., λακκοκαταπύγων Γ²E²] λακατ(τ)απύγων, καταπύγων 762 ἐσβαλεῖτε Γ²E²] ἐσβάλητε 775 ἤμεναι Γ²E²] εἵμεναι 788 χῶρος Γ²E²] χοῖρος 879 πυκτίδας EB] πικτίδας 1025 ὥσπερ AE] ὥπερ, ὅπερ, ὤς 1066 ἀλειφέτω Γ²E²B] ἄλειφε, ἄλειψε, ἄλειφέ· γε.² These instances, I admit, are not at all numerous, largely owing to the generally close agreement between A, Γ, and E. But they serve to point the way, and the application of the test we have already laid down confirms the correctness of this indication. In other words, the great majority of the Aldine readings not derivable from *h* find a consistent explanation in E and its copies, as they do in no other of our MSS. The only readings not accounted for by a combination of *h* and E (exclusive of those given on the preceding page) may be classified as follows:

(1) *Typographical errors of Aldus.* — 98 ἀπέμψε Ald.] ἀπέπεμψε(ν), ἔπεμψε, ἔκπεμψε 99 ψευδαρσώβα] ψευδαρτάβα, ψευδατάρβα 101 ξυνήκασθ'] ξυνήκαθ' 109 μόγας] μέγας 112 σαρψεινιακόν] σαρδιανικόν, σαρδανιακόν 152 om. vs. 322 om. second οὐκ] οὐκ, οὐδ' 363 φονεῖς] φρονεῖς 416 λελέξαι] λέξαι 476 τισαῖτήσαῖμ'] τί σ' αἰτήσαιμ' 493 τὰ'νατία] τάναντία 568 λάμεχ'] λάμαχ' 577 κακοῤῥθεῖ] κακορροθεῖ 591 om. γὰρ 617 ἐξίστῳ] ἐξίστω 626 μεταπίθειν] μεταπίθει 655 ποθ'] ποτ' 670 om. ἂν 683 τονθορίζοντες] τονθορύζοντες 744 ταδῇ] ταδὶ 757 πραγμάτ'] πραγμάτων 807 ὦιον] οἶον 848 ὀδ'] οὐδ' 891 τέν'] τέκν' 903 om. ᾿στι 915 φάσω] φράσω 1002 κτη-

¹ It will be understood that the reading before the bracket is that of Aldus.

² Pertinent here is also 798 ἂν κἄνευ M₉E₂ Ald., ^{ἂν} κἄνευ E] κἄνευ, κἂν ἄνευ, καὶ ἄνευ and probably 329 ὑμῶν Ald., ὑμῖν E] ἡμῖν.

σιφῶνος λήψεται] κτησιφῶντος λήψεται 1022 om. δ' ἐπετρίβειν] ἐπετρίβην 1064 φάσον] φράσον 1069 κὰν] καὶ 1225 ἀπύδοτέ] ἀπόδοτέ 1228 om. ᾧ 1230 ἀγεννάδα] γεννάδα. Also various omissions of the abbreviations of speakers, as 296 ΔΙ. 297 ΧΟ. 803 ΔΙ. 1101 ΛΑ.; cf. 900 ΔΟΙ.] ΒΟΙ., om.

(2) *Emendations of Aldus, recurring in no extant Ms.* — 271 πολλῶν Ald.] πολλῶ MSS. 329 ὑμῶν] ὑμῖν *E*, ἡμῖν 400 τρυγωδίαν (cf. schol.)] τραγωδίαν 623 καὶ] γε καὶ, γε 634 λόγοις] λόγοισι 655 ἀφήσητ' ἀφήσετ', ἀφήσεθ' 665 φλεγυρὸν] φλεγυρὰ 737 πρίαιτο] πρίατο, ἐπρίατο 750 ἤκομεσ] ἤκομεν, ἴκομεν 772 θυμητιδᾶν] θυμητιδᾶν, θυματιδᾶν 793 τῇ φροδίτῃ] τῇ ἀφροδίτῃ 950 πρόσβαλλ' πρόσβαλλ' 976 τᾷδ' ταὶ δ', τῶ δ', τὰ δ', etc. 1012 ἴδητ' ἴδητε 1086 κίστιν] κίστην 1089 ἐστὶν] ἐστὶ 1112 μίμαρκιν] μίμαρκυν, μίρμακυν 1151 τὸν ποιητήν] ποιητήν 1197 ἐμαῖσιν ἂν τύχαις] ἐμαῖς τύχαισιν, ἐμαῖσιν τύχαις.

(3) *Readings of Aldus in agreement with various Mss.* — 11 ἀνείπεν RAI³B] ἀνείπ', ἀνείπον *H* 200 κελεύω¹ *E*2 (cf. schol.)] κελεύων 234 βαλλήναδε B² (cf. schol.)] παλλήναδε 354 φέρον Γ²B²] φέρων 385 στρέφει (lemma in *E*) RΓB²] στρέφεις *h*B, στρέφη *E* 535 μεγαρήs RΓ²] μεγαρεῖs 632 ἀποκρίνεσθαι *E*2] ἀποκρίνασθαι 635 μήθ' ΑΓΒ] μὴδ', μὴ δὲ 729 μεγαρεῦσιν RB] μεγαρεῦσι 782 ἀτὰρ R*c*B] αὐτὰρ 810 ἀνελόμαν (lemma in *E*) Ald., ἀνελόμαν *R*] ἀνελόμην 849 κεκαρμένον Γ²(?)] κεκαρμένος 924 ιῆς AB] ιῆς, ιῆs 1045 κτίσση ΑΜ9*E*2] κνίσση, κνήσση 1097 Γ²B] om. vs. 1142 τὰ R*c*B] γὰρ *h* (vs. om. in ΑΓ*E*) 1221 σκοτοδιניῶ B] σκοτοβινιῶ (vs. om. in ΑΓ*E*). Probably due to carelessness are 214 φαῦλω ΑΓ*E*E2] φαῦλλω 900 ἔσθ' Γ²*c*] ἔστ', ἔντ'.

Of the agreements in the last list, the only one that I can regard as at all significant is that seen in the case of vs. 1097. It is possible, of course, that this verse stood in the immediate archetype of *h*; yet its absence in *c* as well as *h* suggests that the error was as old as *c'*. Another possibility would be that the entire verse, or a considerable part of it, occurred as lemma to the scholium in the ms. of the *h*-tradition employed by Aldus; the important word γυλιόν is thus found in *E*. In any case it does not seem to me that we have here sufficient evidence for the use of a third ms. of the *Acharenses* in the preparation

¹ Aldus assigns this verse to ΑΜ.

of the Aldine text, unless we are willing to assume that it was only rarely consulted.

It remains to determine which ms. of the E-tradition was employed by Aldus. For the solution of this question we gain little from a consideration of the text; all that can be said is that none of the readings peculiar to M₉E₂ or to E₂ alone are to be found in the Aldine. In the case of the scholia, however, both on the *Acharnenses* and the *Aves*,¹ the older Estensis is the only ms. of the three from which Musurus could have taken many of his notes. That this ms., moreover, actually belonged to Musurus has been shown recently by Zacher and Zuretti.² With the latter we recognize, then, in E an important source of the Aldine text and scholia, — in at least one play; with his further contention³ that this ms. was virtually the sole source of the Aldine for the six plays contained we cannot agree.

Rm1

The first impression given by this ms. is rather unique. Containing as it does a number of surprises in the way of good readings to be seen in no other ms., and yet showing in the main the same metrical recension as that of *h*, it naturally causes one to think of a good early tradition with Byzantine 'improvements.' But, alas for such high hopes, a few comparisons with the Aldine suffice to reveal the family history of our ms. and dispel all illusions regarding a brilliant lineage! In other words, we have here to deal with nothing more than a copy of the Aldine, and a poor copy at that.

The evidence for this statement may be briefly given as follows: Rm1 agrees regularly with the Aldine in its readings, (1) from *h* or *hB*, both metrical (720, 731, 751, 754, 767, 768, 769, 772, 791, 803, 808, 819, 824, 830, 832, 838, 848, 867, 869)⁴ and others (790, 798)⁵; (2) from E (762, 775, 788, 879, to mention only those given above)⁶; (3) due

¹ The greater part of the readings peculiar to EM₉ given later (p. 203ff.), are found also in the Aldine; but owing to the frequent abbreviation of the scholia in M₉ many readings are peculiar to E and Aldus alone.

² See Zuretti, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 39.

³ Combated by Zacher (*Jahresbericht*, LXXI, 1892, p. 30 f.), on the basis of readings in *Plut.* 1-200.

⁴ See above, p. 194; cf. 181 ff.

⁵ P. 194.

⁶ P. 195.

to emendation (737, 750, 772, 793, 810, 849, 924).¹ The only exceptions are (1) 911, (3) 729, 782(?). Furthermore, Rm1 has (4) the serious typographical errors of the Aldine in 807, 891, 903²; and, most noteworthy of all, (5) the metrical signs used by Aldus (the *coronis* after 835, 859, and the *paragraphus* after 841, 847, 853),³ as well as the metrical direction before 692: ἀντωδὴ καὶ ἀντιστροφὴ κώλων ἰδ' (δι Ald.).⁴

Rm1 has a few errors not found in the Aldine or in any of the MSS.: 696 om. καὶ 697 ἄνδρα] ἄνδρ' 752 om. τὸν 766 ἄν] αἰ 775 γε] γα 796 ἡδιστον] ἄδιστον 830 ἀπεδίδου] ἀπέδου 903 τᾷδ'] τᾷδε δ' 921 ἐσπέμπειεν] ἐσπέμψειεν, ἐκπέμψειεν 924, 925 σελαγοῖτ'] σελαγοῖντ' also one or two accents. Of errors found in one or another of the MSS. but avoided by Aldus, I discover in Rm1: 729 μεγαρεῦσι AΓEchRm1] μεγαρεῦσιν 732 ἐμβάτε CRm1] ἀμβάτε 781 αὐτ' ἐστὶ HRm1] αὐτα 'στὶ, αὐτά 'στι, etc.⁵ and a few accentual variants.

Improvements on the Aldine text are to be seen occasionally in Rm1, consisting always of the most obvious changes: 744 ταδὶ Rm1] ταδὴ Ald. 757 πραγμάτων] πραγμάτ 848 οὐδ' ὁδ' 900 ἔστ'] ἔσθ' 915 φράσω] φάσω. Add 803 ΔΙ.] om. 900 ΒΟΙ.] ΔΟΙ. In a few instances we find the abbreviations of the Aldine expanded: 729 ΜΕΓΑΡΕΥΣ Rm1] ME. Ald. 735, 780, 800 ΚΟΡΑΙ] ΚΟ. 860 ΒΟΙΩΤΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ] ΒΟΙ. 910 ΝΙΚΑΡΧΟΣ] ΝΙ.

It will be seen from the above that there is no reason for believing that the scribe of Rm1 had any other source before him than the Aldine edition.⁶ The disappearance of the greater portion of this manuscript is not, therefore, exactly an irreparable loss.

In the light of the result thus reached it is clear that Rm1 must date from the extreme end of the fifteenth century, if indeed it belongs to that century at all. The forms of the letters θ, κ, ρ, σ, and φ are essentially the same as those of B² and Γ³.

For the scholia and glosses of Rm1, see p. 209ff.

¹ P. 196.

² P. 195.

³ These were not retained in the Juntine editions of 1515 and 1525.

⁴ None of the other MSS. contains this metrical note.

⁵ Perhaps also 782 αὐτὰρ AΓEhRm1] ἀτὰρ, unless Rm1 has changed αὐτὰρ to ἀτὰρ.

⁶ That any subsequent edition should have been thus copied by hand is *a priori* highly improbable; and certain it is that Rm1 is not quite so close to either of the first two Juntine editions as to the Aldine.

THE FIRST JUNTINE

Whatever evidence there may be in some plays of the use of a manuscript source by Junta for his first edition (1515), there is certainly no trace of anything of the sort in the *Acharnenses*. If we disregard mere accentual differences there are thirty-two variations from the Aldine text. Ten of these correct obvious errors, and *could* have been secured from almost any one of our MSS.: 416 λέξαι Junt. I] λελέξαι Ald. 493 τὰ ἵαντία] τὰ ἵατία 568 λάμαχ'] λάμεχ' 626 μεταπείθει] μεταπείθειν 757 πραγμά.ων] πραγμάτ 807 οἶον] ὦιον 1002 λήψεται] λήψεταιτο 1035 ποι] ποῦ 1069 καὶ] καὶν and 900 BOI.] ΔΟΙ. Of the twenty-two new errors of Junta I, three can be duplicated from our MSS.: 206 συλλαβεῖν M9E2H] ξυλλαβεῖν 628 τραγικοῖς A] τρυγικοῖς 933 πυρρόραγες Vp2H] πυρορραγές, etc.; the rest, with the exception of φλογερὸν (665), are typographical errors; e.g.: 236 γάλλων] βάλλων 260 κληφώρου 498 ἀθυναίοις 625 πολεῖν 194 ΑΔ.] ΑΜ.

THE SECOND JUNTINE

The net contribution of the Juntine edition of 1525 toward the betterment of the text of the *Acharnenses* is confined to the following two improvements upon the earlier editions: 577 κακορροθεῖ Junt. II] κακορρήθεῖ Ald., κακς ρθεῖ Junt. I 803 δαὶ¹] δὲ Ald. Junt. I. As compared with the Aldine alone there are six other instances, already found in the first Juntine (493, 568, 757, 807, 1002, 1035). One or two of the errors peculiar to the first Juntine and four peculiar to the Aldine are retained, while some fifteen new errors appear for the first time.

Our investigation of the various traditions of the *Acharnenses* is now complete, so far as regards the text. It is not my purpose in the present paper to deal with the problem of the scholia in its entirety. I have thought it worth while, however, to show that the MSS. already seen to have no independent value for the text exhibit the same dependence upon their parent MSS. in the scholia. Δ contains no scholia or glosses; the four MSS. to be considered, then, are Vb1, M9, E2, and Rm1.

¹ But the metre was thereby violated, inasmuch as σῶκα was not changed.

GLOSSES OF Vb1

The 60 glosses on the *Acharnenses* offered by Vb1 bear out fully the theory that Γ was the sole source used. It is interesting to observe, in the first place, that every one of these glosses appears as an interlinear or, occasionally, an intramarginal note in Γ; our scribe evidently had no mind to recast the scholia. In the case of 52 of these glosses of Vb1 there is exact agreement with the form in Γ; while the variations in the remaining 8 are directly traceable to the ambiguous forms of letters in Γ. The instances of disagreement are these: 113 (Düb. 112, 26) ὑπὲρ Vb1] ὑπὲρ^{τ'} Γ 135, 34 ὑπὸ] ὑπὸ^τ 358, 30-32 περιύδην] περιόδον χωρικοῦ] χορικοῦ (from χωρικοῦ) αρθῶν] τριῶν 590 τὸ χέλειον ἐστὶν οἶμαι (as text following 589)] τὸ τέλειον ἐστὶν οἶμαι (over 590, in second column, and seeming therefore to follow 589, which was later inserted by the corrector between 586 and 588 in the first column) 647 ὁ μέγας περσῶν] ὁ μέγας περσῶν 703 ἀντιπολιτευσάμενος] ἀντιπολιτευσάμενον 750 εὐαγόρα] ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἤλθομεν] ἤλθομεν 963, 15 ὥς ἀνὰ] ὥσανεῖ (ὥς Düb.). In 303 ἀν, added by 1² to the text, appears in Vb1 as a gloss.

I may note further at this point that the hypotheses to the *Acharnenses* in Vb1 are clearly derived from Γ, notwithstanding the fact that Hyp. II — deprived of its appropriate caption — has been placed by the copyist before Hyp. I. The list of *aramatis personae* was added in Γ by a corrector (Γ²?) in the margin before Hyp. I; in Vb1 it precedes the two hypotheses. In both MSS. we find the list of characters arranged in the same unique order (ΔΙ., ΣΥ., ΚΗ., ΘΗΒ., etc.), a confusion manifestly due to the error of some scribe who read across the two columns of his list instead of downwards.

SCHOLIA OF M9

I. *Acharnenses*. — At first glance the scholia to the *Acharnenses* in M9 might be thought to represent an entirely new tradition as compared with that of Γ-E on the one hand and that of R on the other. But a brief inspection shows that they are, in fact, simply an extensive rewriting of the old scholia, similar to that seen in R and in the notes of Tzetzes as found in U.¹ Just as in those redactions, we find here also

¹ Cf. Zacher, *Handschriften und Classen der Aristophanesscholien*, in *Jahrb. f. class. Philol., Suppl.* XVI, p. 583 ff.; J. W. White, *Tzetzes's Notes on the Aves in Codex Urbinas 141*, in *Harvard Studies*, XII (1901), pp. 69-108.

a goodly number of the old scholia, even several of the longer ones, preserved in full; more frequently a part only of the original scholium is retained. But commonly more serious changes are involved, varying all the way from the substitution of single words to the entire recasting of the note. The author of the present redaction manifests a particular interest in the metrical scholia, omitting no note of that description to be found in E, which is in this respect the most complete.

As typical of the reduction of a scholium to one or more glosses, or to a combination of glosses and scholium, I cite the following: 86 οὐδείς M9] λείπει τὸ οὐδείς· ὡς καὶ παρ' ὁμήρῳ, κτέ. E¹ 493 ὦν] λείπει τὸ ὦν· ἔν' ἦ, εἰς ὦν 697 ἐν] λείπει τὸ ἐν· ἐν μαραθῶνι 938 (a) συκοφαντεῖν, (b) ἤγουν φανός· λαμπτήρ] καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ συκοφαντεῖν, τὸ φαίνειν νοεῖται· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν φῶς· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ λυχνοῦχον ἐπήγο- γεν, ὃν λέγομεν φανὸν ἢ λαμπτήρα. Also the following, where the long scholium in E is virtually identical with the form in Dübner: 246 πλατὺ εἶδος πλακούντος 882 αὐτὴν τὴν ἐγγελὺν 134 (a) οὗτος ἐπὶ κολακεία κωμωδεῖται, (b) τῶν θρακῶν βασιλεὺς, (c) ἦν δὲ ὁ θέωρος τῶν ἄγαν ἐπιόρκων 1 (a) τὸ δὴ θαυμαστικὸν ἐχρήσατο δὲ αὐτῷ· καὶ θουκυδίδης ἐν προοιμίῳ· κίνησις αὕτη γὰρ δὴ μεγίστη· ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν κατὰ τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ θν' κατὰ τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ καρδίαν φησί. δέδηγμαι ἡνίαμαι· ὁμηρος δάκε φρένας ἔκ(ο)ρι μῖθος (E has τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ θν' ἢ for τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ ζῶην of Dübner, lines 34-35), (b) πολλὰ ἐπὶ θαύματος over ὅσα, (c) τὸ δὴ ἀόριστον πλῆθος ἀριθμοῦ σ⁷/ over δὴ, (d) λελύπημαι over δέδηγμαι, (e) κατὰ over τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ, (f) παρόσον παρὰ τὴν καρδίαν συνίσταται τὰ τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς over καρδίαν.

A few of the more striking instances of rewriting are these: 8, 12-13 ἔδει φησὶ τὸν κλέωνα καταδικασθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι ἄξιον τῆς ἐλλάδος² 21 ἀγορὰ σημαίνει τρία 61 βασιλεὺς ὁ ἀπὸ κλήρ(ου) δεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τύραννος δὲ δυναστεία χρυσάμενος 69 οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκηνώω σκηνῶ ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκηνέω σκηνῶ 233 εἰώθασι(?) σκόλοπας πρὸ τῶν ἀμπελῶν πηγνύειν σκόλοπας³. ἵνα ἄβηται(?) εἶεν 531, 11-13 πρὸς τὸ

¹ E is our best ms. for the scholia on the *Acharnenses*; it is much more complete than R, and avoids numerous corruptions of Γ. In general, the Aldine follows E very closely.

² It is understood that the note in E is essentially the same as that in Dübner, unless otherwise specified.

³ Similar instances of careless repetition are to be seen elsewhere: 802 καὶ τοὺς ἰσχνοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰσχνοὺς καλοῦσιν 883 πρὸς τὴν θέτιν· τίς λέγων δέσποινα

ὀλύμπιος ταῦτα γὰρ ἔργα εἰσὶ τοῦ διός 687 (a) ἐρευνητὰς λόγων (E omits τῶν in l. 48) (b) δισσως ἀναγινώσκεται σκανδαληθριστάς· ἢ σκανδάληθρα ἰστὰς· σκανδάληθρα μὲν οὖν τὰ πέταλα τῶν παγίδων τὰ καμπύλα· σκανδαληθρισταὶ οἱ τοὺς παγίδας ἵσταντες (?): — ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὰ βάρη τῶν λόγων· τὸ ὑπερβατὸν, κτέ. 816 τὸ πλήρες . . . πραγματευτικέ· βουλόμενος δὲ δεῖξαι τὸν μέγαν λιμὸν αὐτοῦ λέγει ὥσπερ ἐπώλησα τὰ τέκνα, εἴθ' οὕτως καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν μητέρα πωλήσαιμι 988 (Düb. 989), 33–36 ὦ εἰρήνη· ἐν γὰρ τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ γάμοι· καὶ αἱ ἑορταὶ· καὶ ἡδίστη χάρις ἐστί. Also 977 (Düb. 989), 29–31 σημείον τρυφῆς ὅτε πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ τρυφητοῦ πρόκεινται τὰ πτερὰ ὀρνίθων καὶ ὅστα ἀστακῶν καὶ παγούρων· καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα M9] οἶον τῆς παρ' αὐτῷ ἔνδον τρυφῆς σημείον πρόκειται τῶν θυρῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ τῶν ὀρνίθων πτερὰ E.

That brevity was not the sole aim of this redaction will have been seen from some of the notes just cited; it will be still more evident when we consider the following instances of the expansion of old notes and the addition of new glosses¹: (1) *Old scholia expanded*. — 66, 17 μαλακίαν E] κακίαν καὶ μαλακίαν M9 150, 41 ὡς πολλῶν ὄντων] ἐπὶ θαύματος ὡς πολλῶν ὄντων 220, 42 προῖέναι] προῖέναι τῶν οἴκων 243, 5 πόλις εἰσὶ τῆς βιωτίας] τόπος κατὰ τὴν ἀττικὴν καὶ πόλις βιωτίας 245, 26 τὸν ζωμάρυστρον] τὴν κοινῶς λεγομένην κουτάλην ἥγουν τὸν ζωμάρυστρον 265, 36 βροτολογίῃ] βροτολογίῃ μαιφόνε τειχεσιπλῆτα² 339, 31 ἱλλυριόν] ἱλλυριὸν ἥγουν τοὺς παίονας καὶ ἱλλυριοὺς 394, 5 ἀθηναίοις εἶναι] ἀθηναίοις ἀντὶ τοῦ πολεμιστέον 499, 46 λαμβάνειν] λαμβάνειν τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς 551, 23 τῶν τύλων τῶν γινομένων] τὰ νῦν κότξια· τὴν (or τὰ?) ἀπὸ τύλων γινομένων (sic) 686, 41 γράφει] γράφει· ἐς τάχος ἀναγινώσκει 701, 25 ζημιούμεθα] ὑβριζόμεθα καὶ ζημιούμεθα 724, 35 οἱ μεγαρεῖς λεπροὶ] μεγαρεῖς οἱ πλείους λεπροὶ 772, 6 τετριμμένων] τετριμμένοι· ὥμνον δὲ αὐτοὺς 864, 5 θηβαίου] θηβαίου ἀλλητοῦ 1021, 47–48 καπήλισον ἢ μετὰδος ἢ μέτρησον] καπήλισον ἢ μετὰδος· ἥγουν ἢ πώλι-

πρὸς τὴν θέτιν πεντήκοντα νηρηίδων χορόν 963 διασύρει τὸν ἄσημον ὡς ὥσανεῖ ἄσημον ὄντα. Neither E nor the other MSS. afford the slightest excuse for these errors.

¹ For the purpose of defining the place of the various additions to the scholia I give as lemma in each case one or more words of E (usually the same as in Dübner). It is scarcely necessary to state that nothing is implied here as to agreement between E and M9 beyond what is seen in the words actually quoted.

² The only instance of addition to a citation.

σον ἢ μετάδος· ἢ μέτρησον ἥγουν δάνεισον. This list might be increased by the addition of a few instances in which one or more words from the text have been inserted in the note ; but I have included here everything that might be thought to represent a new tradition. (2) *New glosses*. — 25 κατὰ (ἀλλήλ)ων 31 ἀνα(λογίζομαι) 87 φεῦ 92 ἐκβάλλει (but ἐκκόψει in text) 235^a τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ παλλήναδε (based on final words of scholium on 234?) 276 τοῦτο τὸ μονόμετρον (cf. 274) 528 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς τῆς ἀσπασίας τῆς διὰ τοῦ περικλέους 529 πορνῶν (cf. 537 τὰς πόρναις TEM9) 530 ὁ μέγας 532 ἥγουν σκολιῶς 550 κρομμύων (hardly a variant) 744 ῥύγχος καὶ τὰ τῶν χοίρων μούτζουνα 949 κατάβαλλε (cf. 947 καταβάλλειν) and τὸν συκοφάντην 950 θέλεις.¹

Thus far E has been used as our standard of comparison in describing the peculiar features of M9. A collation of the readings of R and Γ for these same scholia would show that the readings of M9 are never nearer to either of those MSS. than to E, and sometimes not so close. I now give some of the positive evidence of intimate relationship between E and M9. First of all there are a few notes preserved only in these two MSS.: on vs. 33, 73, 120, 204 (second, lines 30–31), 206, 228, 553 (τῶν ξυλίνων ἤλων), 555, 889, — these nine essentially as in Aldus and Dübner, — together with metrical notes on 124 and 1151 not given in the editions. Fully as many more notes of EM9 fail in Γ, while those wanting in R are numbered by the score. On the other hand, of the several scholia found in either R or Γ, occasionally in both,² but lacking in E, not one appears in M9. The same displacement of scholia is to be seen in M9 as in E in two instances: the note on 187 stands over 191 in these two MSS., that on 690 occurs after 674 ; yet the correct position was indicated in E each time by means of a *signum*. If this evidence should be regarded as insufficient to prove the close dependence of M9 upon E, a considerable list of readings peculiar to these two might be given, did space permit. I give half a dozen chosen at random from the scholia appearing in both R and Γ: 44, 51 σφάζειν EM9] θύειν RΓ 82, 17 ἐπὶ χρυσῇν πλάτανον καθεζόμενος E, ἡ πλάτανος

¹ One might think of assigning here the note at the top of fol. 282' (vs. 1086–1102), καὶ κίστη καὶ κίστις γρ οὕτω καὶ ἀμφοτέρ . . . But this is evidently nothing else than a free rendering of the note found in E on 1138 (= Düb.); vs. 1138 is omitted in EM9, and the scribe of the latter has applied the note to 1086.

² Such as 112, 309, 1022, 1099, 1105 (not in Ald.), 1111, 1131, 1190, 1199, 1206.

χρυσῇ ἦν ἐν ἧ ἐκάθετο M9] ὑπὸ χρυσῇν πλάτανον καθεζόμενος 165, 21 ἀρ-
πάξουσιν] ἀρπάσσασι 755 οἱ στρατηλάται] οἱ στρατηγοὶ 885, 5 δρῶν]
ὀρῶν R, ὀρῶ Γ 1081, 25 πολεμολαχαϊκόν] πολεμολαμαχαϊκόν R, πολε-
μοχαϊκόν Γ.

II. *Aves*. — That the scholia of M9 on the *Aves* are of the same sort as those on the *Acharnenses* will be seen from the following typical readings:

(1) *Old scholia reduced to glosses*.¹ — 755 τῷ ἔθει 832 τῶν ἀθηνῶν
943 οὐ διαμάξης φέρεται (cf. schol. 942) 1077 (a) τῶν ὀρνέων (over
ὑμῶν!), (b) τὸν μήλιον (over τὸν στρουθιον) 1111 μικρὰν ἀρχήν
1114 ἡμᾶς νικᾶν (over κρίνητε) 1181 (a) εἶδος ἱέρακος, (b) ὁ δὲ καλλι-
μαχος κίσινδιν.

(2) *Notable instances of recasting*. — 179 ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν τόπος ἐν ᾧ
διατρίβουσιν 683 (second half) ἢ ἐν ἔαρι τελοῦσι τὴν μουσαν τὰ διονί-
σια 765, 15–20 πάππος ὄρνειον· εἰ ἔστι καρ(?) φησι ὡς ἐξηκεστιδης ἀνα-
βήτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ γενέσθω πάππος καὶ καυχάσθω ἔχων συγγενῶν(?)· οὐδὲ
γὰρ μέλλει ἐρευνᾶσθαι τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ αὐτοῦ συγγενεῖς 832 (= EDüb.
836) τεῖχος τραχύτατον διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πετρῶν οἰκεῖν 841 διὰ τὸ ἵνα μὴ
γένηται τι τῶν ἀδοκῆτων 1169 ἐνόρχιος ὄρχησις ἢ πυρρίχη 1214 δοκεῖς
καὶ οὐ μαίνει τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐρωτῶν 1293 ἱππότροφος οὗτος καὶ κυνηρίας
1378 βούλεται εἰπεῖν ὁ χορὸς φελλύρινον πολιτείαν (φελλύρινον πολιτείαν
is E's lemma) ἤγουν χλωρὰν· χλωρὸν δὲ ὁ κινήσιος καὶ εὐφρόνιος ἐλαφρὸν
καὶ χλωρὸν τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ φελλοῦ 1570 ἔμειξεν ὡς ἐπὶ δημο-
κρατία τὴν ἰσοτιμίαν οὔσαν ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἐκείνῃ μετὰ τῶν εὐγενῶν ὁμοῦ ἀποστέλ-
λονται καὶ οἱ χωρῖται φρόνιμοι ὄντες καὶ πρακτικοί. Cf. 1553 τούτους δὲ
ἔχειν βήματα τοῦ παντὸς μείζονα διὰ τὸ μεγάλας σκιάς ἔχειν ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἥλιος
οὐ δύει ποτὲ ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ἐστίν, as against the note in E, τούτους δὲ ἔχειν
βήματα φασὶ τοῦ παντὸς μείζονα· διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν οἶμαι ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ
καύματος ἀναλίσκεσθαι, οὔσης τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν(?) καὶ τραχείαν καὶ κατὰδυσιν
οὐκ ἐχούσης εἰς ἀποφυγὴν τοῦ καύματος; also 35, 20 αἶ καὶ μετὰ κωπῶν
καὶ μετὰ ἰστίων οὐριοδραμοῦσαι θέουσιν as against αἶ οὐριοδραμοῦσαι ἀμφοῖν
τοῖν ποδοῖν πλέουσιν of E.

(3) *Additions to the scholia*. — These are few for the *Aves*, whether in the shape of enlargements upon old scholia or of entirely new glosses.

¹ I ignore the scholia on vs. 222–601, inasmuch as this portion of E has been lost. Where not given, the reading of E is understood to be substantially the same as that in Dübner.

The only significant examples of the first class are these: 87 ἰδὼν E] καταπεσῶν ἰδὼν M9 108 ἐπὶ] ἐπὶ τῷ ποιεῖν τριήρεις καὶ ἐπὶ 165 ἔχετε] ἔχετε τοῦτο γὰρ δέον 721, 24 ἐποίουν] ἐποιούντο καλοῦ ἢ κακοῦ 876 (Düb. 877), at end, γρ καὶ ἡ στρουθός 910 (Düb. 913), 30 λέγεται] λέγεται· δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τοιοῦτοι 928 (Düb. 930), 19 τὸ ἐμὴν] τῷ μιν (?) καὶ τῷ τεῖν 1069, 5 δάκετα] δάκετα ἥγουν θηρία¹ 1088, 11 τοῦ φύλου] τοῦ λόγου ἥγουν τοῦ φύλου 1295, 27 πανοῦργος ἦν] πονηρὸς ἦν καὶ λάλος 1475, 24 καρδιανοί] καρδιανοί· ἡ νῦν καρέα (?) 1569, 27 στρατηγῆσαι] ἐστρατηγήσῃ ποτὲ καὶ ἀθηναίοις. There are but four or five new glosses in M9: 207 ὦ σύνομέ μοι 1149 τὸ κοινῶς μυστήριον (no other comment on ὑπαγωγέα) 1462 ἥγουν στρουμπαν 1605 διὰ τὴν κυλίαν σου.²

I now add some of the evidence of the direct dependence of M9 upon E:

(1) *Glosses occurring only in EM9.*—768 ἀναφυγεῖν 1008 τοῦ κύκλου 1033 τὸ ὄλον ἤδη 1131 σ⁷/ ὅτι τὸ μάκρος λέγει E, σ⁷/ ὅτι γρ καὶ τὸ μάκρος M9 1212 γρ¹ καὶ (om. M9) πρὸς τοὺς κολοιάρχους πῶς εἰσηλθες prefixed to gloss given in Dübner 1589 ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἐλεοῦμεν οὐ πειθόμεθα.³

(2) *Readings peculiar to EM9.*⁴—(a) Errors: 13, 49 καλλίστρατον] νικόστρατον VGM8⁵ 31, 8 τραγικόν] θρακικόν 43, 44 ἀσεβεῖν] ἀποσοβεῖν 63, 25 οὕτω'στι] οὕτωσί τί RVGG 69, 50 τερατικόν] τεραστικόν RVGG, τεράστιον U, τερατώδες M8 82, 19 καὶ ἀκρίδας] ἀκρίδας

¹ θηρία ἰοβόλα occurs in none of our MSS.; U, however, has θηρία.

² πάντα οἰωνόν as gloss to παρμόν (720) is apparently due to the scholium on 719, which in E stands immediately under 720; yet this note had already been reported in full by M9 over 719. Similarly ἥγουν οἶος ὁ πατήρ (767) is derived from a scholium appearing also in fuller form; and the same is true of the note on 914, διὰ τὸ τετυρημένα ἱμάτια φορεῖν αὐτοὺς ὡς πτωχοὺς, which appears on 910 as παίζει παρὰ τὸ ὀτρηροὶ ἐπειδὴ τετρημένον ἦν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἱμάτιον and on 915 as παίζει παρὰ τὸ ὀτρηρὸς ὅτι καὶ τὸ ληδάριον ἔχεις.

³ There is a single instance in which M9 has a gloss in common with another MS. than E, viz.: 754 εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς GM9; but this seems to have been the stock gloss of the period (so Rm1 on *Ach.* 717).

⁴ I give only the more important.

⁵ In this and the following list the omission of the symbol of one of the five MSS., R, V, G, Γ, M8, means that the scholium or particular part of the scholium in question is omitted in that MS.; except that the omission of *all* the symbols implies the presence of the word in all five MSS. Inasmuch as U seldom has the whole scholium nothing is implied as to its reading, except where the symbol is added.

VG 670, 36 ποικιλωδέστερον E, ποικιλωδέστερον M9] ποικιλόδειρον 721, 32 ὦν ὄνος] ὄνος ὦν 763, 11 νέος φρυγίλος E, νέος M9] ὄνομα ὀρνέου R(VP)GF, ὄνομα ὀρνιθος M8 790, 36 προείρηται περὶ τούτου ὅτι χεσᾶς ἐκαλείτο (interlin. E)] διὸ καὶ χεσᾶς (οὐέσας VG) ἐλέγετο ΓVGM8E(schol.), χεσᾶς γὰρ ἐλέγετο U 800, 9 τιμιώτερος] ἐντιμώτερος R, ἐντιμότητος VG, μετριώτερος Γ 1000 σκώπτων αὐτούς] σκώπτει αὐτούς M8 (on 999) 1013, 10 ἐκ λακεδαίμονος] ἐν λακεδαίμονι 1258, 26 συμμιγήσομαι] σοι μιγήσομαι RVGFU, μιγήσομαί σοι M8 1273, 5 καταγγέλλειν] παραγγέλλειν RVGF 1289, 46 ἀπενέμοντο] ἀνενέμοντο RVGF 1417, 26 τὸ μία] μία 1463,¹ 44 μεγάλως] χαλεπῶς R 1473, 17 ὄρνιν] δένδρον 1478, 29 δικάζονται] γυμνάζονται 1490, 45 συνερίθοις] σερίφοις R, συνερίφοις VG 1498, 11 εὐκαίρως] οὐ καιρούς RVGF, οὐκαίρως Γ², οὐκ ἐπὶ καιροῦ M8 1503, 23 ποιῶν] δεικνύς RVGM8, ἀποδεικνύς Γ. (b) Good readings: 82, 18 ἐσθίει] ἔστι VG 669, 35 συνουσιάζοιμι] συνουσιάζοιμι VG 744, 32 ὀρνίθων] ἀνθρώπων RVG, ὀρνέων Γ 765, 22 τριτὺν] τριτοὺς VG 915, 35 τετρημένον] τετριμμένον, τετρυπημένον U 1063, 2 λαγωῖς] λαγοῖς R, λαδέγοις V, λαγῶ G, λαγῶ M8 1100, 29 κεχαρισμένα] κεχαριτωμένα RVGFU 1299, 7 ὄρτυξ E, ὄρτυγος M9] ὄρνις R, ὄρτυγξ Γ 1354, 52 κύρβεις] κύρβιες RVGUM8 1422,¹ 38 τοὺς τὰς νήσους οἰκοῦντας] τὰς νήσους VG, τοὺς οἰκοῦντας τὰς νήσους M8 1425, 43 καλεῖν] καλούμενος RVGM8, καλῶν U 1429, 1 ἔχουσιν ἐν τῷ πέτεσθαι] ἔχουσιν 1485, 35 συνδιάγειν] διάγειν R 1489 ξυντυγχάνειν καὶ ἐντυγχάνειν ταῦτόν] καὶ ἐντυγχάνειν αὐτόν R 1494, 8 αὐτῷ] αὐτοῖς RGM8, αὐτοὺς V 1578 διαλλαγῶν] διαλλαγὴν Γ. Here may be added the note τῷ εὐέλπιδι λέγει, attached by EM9 to 934 instead of to 947 as in R and V.

(3) *Scholium out of position in E and M9*. — The note on 1678 appears in E after that on 1681, and without a lemma. M9 has very naturally placed it over 1687.

Lest Zuretti's partial collations² of the hypotheses to the *Acharnenses* and *Aves* in E and M9 should cause a suspicion that in this particular at least M9 is not true to the tradition of E, I will state, without adducing the evidence, that in the hypotheses to both plays the errors of E all reappear in M9.

¹ The folio containing vs. 1420-1491 has been lost in Γ.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 43, 44, 75.

For the determination of the exact relationship between M9 and E the evidence offered by the scholia points in the same direction as that of the text (cf. p. 166). Scarcely a half-dozen of the class of errors in M9 which would be explained most naturally on the theory of a carelessly-written archetype, are accounted for by the appearance of the words in E. The errors for which E does offer some excuse are: *Av.* 63, 28 καὶ δειλὴ ἐπεὶ πολύορνις ἡ λιβύη added to ὀρνιθοθήρῃ 709, 4 ὥρα γεράνου M9] ὥρα crossed before γεράνου E 1638 ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν] ἀντὶ τοῦ θεῶν 1693 τὰ ἐξ οὗ] τὰ ἐξῆς. A few of those unexplained by the appearance of the words in E are: *Ach.* 7, 6 χρημάτων M9] χαλκωμάτων E 104, 52-53 ἐκλυτε ἀθηναῖε] ἐκλυτοὶ . . . ἀθηναῖοι 243, 23-24 ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο ἀστέιον καὶ πεπαιδευμένον (repeated from schol. to 245)] κέχρηται . . . ξανθίας 243, 25 τύβιος δάης] τίβιος δᾶος 333 πρᾶγμα] πλέγμα 416 χοροὺς] προλόγους *Av.* 92, 32 θῆρες] ὄρνις 827, 27 τῶν θεῶν] τῶν ἀθηναίων 1073, 13 μελάνθιππος] μελάνθης. Some of these may possibly be due to deliberate emendation; but nothing would better explain them than a carelessly-written archetype copied from E.

SCHOLIA OF E2

The notes of E2 on our two plays are extremely rare, amounting only to some 110 on the *Acharnenses* and 60 on the *Aves*. Throughout they show the closest dependence upon the notes of M9, and it will accordingly be simpler to treat both plays together.

First of all, I observe that in one third of the notes on either play we have the words of M9 exactly reproduced. Twice the note occurs only in these two MSS.: *Ach.* 31 ἀνα(λογίζομαι) 87 φεῦ. Cf. *Ach.* 150 ἐπὶ θαύματος πολλῶν (ὡς π. M9) ὄντων, of which ἐπὶ θαύματος is found here only. In nine instances the note has nowhere else the same form: *Ach.* 134 ἦν δὲ ὁ θέωρος τῶν ἄγαν ἐπιόρκων¹ 144 ἴδιον ἦν ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις τοὺς ἐραστὰς τὰ τῶν ἐρωμένων ὀνόματα γράφειν 335 ὅμοιον παρὰ δημοσθένει· ἀλλ' ὦ, κτέ. 554, 34 παρακελευσματικόν 574 ὡς τοῦ λαμάχου ἔχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος γοργόνα ἐντετυπωμένην (ἐντετυπωμένην

¹ In this and the following lists I do not add the readings of R, Γ, and E, as the latter two are regularly in substantial agreement with Dübner's text, while R's variations are there indicated; for the few scholia on the *Aves* here cited, V, G, Γ, and M8 differ but slightly from Dübner.

Mg)· ἤγουν ἐκ τῆς θήκης τοῦ ὄπλου· σάγη γὰρ . . . πανοπλία 743 (Düb. 742) δωριεῖς θῆλυ λέγουσι τὸν λιμόν 787 (Düb. 786), 38-39 τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πόστιν παίζει *Av.* 132 οὕτως ἀπτικοὶ ὀξύνουσι καὶ τὸ ἰ προσγρά-
φουσιν· ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτ' γενομένου (*sic*) 575 ψεύδεται παίζων· οὐ γὰρ τὴν ἱρὴν ὄμηρος ἀλλ' ἀθηνᾶν καὶ ἦραν φησί.

Frequently the note in E2 is identical with a part of that in Mg. I give three examples, which will furnish at the same time additional readings peculiar to these two MSS.; the words enclosed in brackets are not in E2: *Ach.* 160 [κατακοντίσουσι καταπολεμήσουσιν ἢ καταδραμοῦνται· ἦν γὰρ κατα]πέλτη ὄργανον τί δι' οὗ ἀφίεντο βέλη καὶ εἶδος ἀσπίδος¹ 649 [ἡρώτα γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τίνας] ὑβρίζει (ὑβρίζει E2) *Av.* 1270 [τοῦτο] ἀπτικὸν τὸ σχῆμα· [ἔστι γὰρ αἰτιατικὴ ἀντὶ εὐθείας·] ἔδει οὖν εἰπεῖν ὁ κήρυξ εἰ μὴ νουστήσει.

In the following instances the peculiar readings offered by E2 are directly traceable to the careless writing of Mg: *Ach.* 242 διπλῇ μετακορωνίδα· ὅτι εἰσεμβαίν(ουσιν) οἱ ὑποκρι(αῖ) δ' τετράμετρα E2] δ. μετὰ κορωνίδα ὅτι εἰσίσαιιν οἱ ὑ. καὶ τὰ ἱαμβεῖα Mg 500 διὰ τὴν τρύγα ἔπαθλον λαμβάνειν τὴν τραγωδίαν] δ. τὸ τ. ἔ. λ. τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς 582 τὰ φογερά] τὰ φοβερά 788 εἰ τρεῖς φησι θέλει χοίρους] εἰ τρέφειν θ. χ. *Av.* 242 ἐκάστου ὀρνέου μιμᾶται φωνήν] ἔ. ὁ. μιμείται φ. 399, 43 ἐδέ-
μοντο] ἐνέμοντο 922 ἐπὶ ἐνεστῶτα] ἐπὶ ἐνεστῶτος 934 τῷ εὐριπίδῃ λέγει] τῷ εὐέλπιδι λ.

Occasionally the scribe of E2 has dealt as freely with the scholia found in his copy as the writer of Mg had done before him. Some of the more striking instances of rewriting follow: *Ach.* 10 συναίρεσις τοῦ εἰ καὶ α̃, κεχήνη E2] ἡ συναίρεσις τοῦ κεχήνη ἀπτική· τὸ γὰρ εἰ καὶ α' εἰς η' συναιρεῖται Mg 11 αἰσχύλος] ἤγουν τὰς αἰσχύλου τραγωδίας 11 ποιητῆς οὗτος] ὁ θεόγνις τραγωδίας ποιητῆς, κτέ. 648 ἔθος ἦν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ἐρωτᾶν τὰ τοιαῦτα] ἔθος τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξετάζειν *Av.* 14 ἤγουν ὁ πωλὼν τὰ ὄρνεα ἐπὶ πινάκων] ὁ ὀρνεοπώλης ὁ τὰ λιπαρὰ ὄρνεα ἐπὶ πινάκων τιθεῖς : ἡ πίναξ ὄρνεον 492 τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων

¹ The first part of this note appears in Mg over vs. 160; the remainder, πέλτη . . . ἀσπίδος, is carried over, as often, to the front margin and has the appearance of a separate note. Similarly ἔσσεσθαι, the final word of the scholium of Mg on 195, but standing over the first word of 196, has been entered by E2 as a gloss on αὐται(!), and καθέξεσθαι, the end of the note on 638 in Mg, has given ἐκαθέξεσθε as gloss on ἐκάθησθε.

δηλ] τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀλεκτρυνόνο(ς) 645 γρ' θρίηθεν· καὶ ἔστι δῆμος τῆς
οἰνηίδος ὅτι κριὸς, δῆμος ἀντιοχίδος] as Dübner, exc. κριόθεν 1342 ἐπὶ
χαρᾶς νῦν λαμβάνεται] οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ σχετλιασμοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ αἰβοῖ ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐπὶ χαρᾶς ὡς καὶ νῦν 1514 ἀντὶ τοῦ πότε δῆτα καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀττικόν]
οὐκ ἀττικὸν τὸ πηνικ' ἄττ' ἀπώλετο· οὐδὲ ἀρχαῖκόν· οὐδὲ ἀκριβῶν· ἔστι δὲ
ἀντὶ τοῦ πότε δῆτα, κτέ.

The originality of our scribe is further manifest in a few absolutely new glosses, as follows: *Ach.* 6 ὁ 64 φεῦ 65 εἰς 174 (a) φεῦ, (b) ὁ 238 ὦ 395 (a) ὦ, (b) ὁ 404 ὦ twice 594 ναὶ 749 ἀρα (cf. 776, where ἀρα begins scholium in M9) 766 ἀν θέλῃς (cf. 772, where ἀν θέλῃς begins scholium) 959 ὦ 1010 ὦ *Av.* 49 ὦ 50 καὶ ὁ 61 ὦ 120 ἡμεῖς 143 ἔνεκα 500 ναὶ 737 ὦ. To this list should probably be added a few instances in which one or two letters only appear over a word of the text in the same manner that corrections are indicated; e.g.: *Ach.* 766 ἡ over καλὰ 769 ἦ over ἄδε 773 ἀν over αἰ *Av.* 448 οἶ over λεῶ.

Of glosses lacking in M9 but appearing in other mss. only one is found in E2: *Ach.* 405 ὑπῆκουσας E2, ὑπῆκουσας δηλονότι R; but the ellipsis here was perfectly obvious. It is evident, therefore, that M9 was the sole source of E2 for the scholia, as well as for the text of the two plays considered.

The arguments to the two plays in E2 are clearly copied from M9: the divergences between the two are few and trivial. To be sure, E2 prefixes to the *Acharnenses* a list of *dramatis personae*, wanting in M9 as well as in E. But it is evident at once that this list was made up afterwards from the entries in E2 itself. The first name is AMΦ., supplied in E2 after vs. 1, which in EM9 was not assigned; moreover the Persian ambassador appears as ΨΕΥΔΑΤΑΡΒΑΣ, a form seen elsewhere only in E2, before vs. 100.

SCHOLIA OF Rm1

The redaction of the scholia seen in Rm1 savors strongly of an edition for schoolboys. The nucleus is formed by extracts from the Aldine scholia, commonly in the form of glosses; and these have been supplemented by a large number of original glosses and an occasional note of greater length.

The Aldine basis of these notes is manifest in the following additions

to the scholia as they appear in R, Γ, and E: 710, 8 διεβάλλετο δὲ (γὰρ Ald.) ἢ τοξία (τοξεία Ald.) ὡς εὐτελής Rm1Ald. 746, 40 ἤγουν (om. Ald.) δίκην χοίρων βοήσετε· κοῖ δὲ, ποιά τῶν χοίρων (δελφακίων Ald.) φωνή 766, 41-45 εἰώθασιν οὕτω ποιεῖν οἱ τὰς ὄρνις ὠνούμενοι, ἵνα ἴδωσιν, εἰ παχεῖαι εἰσὶν (Aldus as Dübner) 781, 28 ἔτι δὲ καὶ κύσθος. In other scholia Rm1 agrees in single readings with Aldus against R, Γ, and E: 772, 3 θυμιτιδᾶν Rm1Ald.] θυματιδᾶν Γ, θυμητιδᾶν E, wanting in R 772, 4 θυμιτιδῶν] θυμητιδῶν RΓ²E, θυματιδῶν Γ 883, 49-50 νηρείδας τις . . . θέτην (θέτιν Ald.)] νηρείδας . . . θέτιν R, νηρείδας . . . θέτιν· τίς ΓE. Cf. 751, 51-4 Rm1Ald. as Dübner] παρὰ προσδοκίαν· ὥσει ἔφη διαπίνομεν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ πῦρ· ὁ δὲ εἶπε διαπεινᾶμες· οἱ γὰρ πότοι χειμῶνος πρὸς τὸ πῦρ γίνονται· ὁ δὲ διαπεινᾶμες εἶπε διὰ τὸν λιμόν· διαπεινᾶμες δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ διαπεινῶμεν· ἢ οὕτως ἐσχάτως . . . πρὸς τῷ πυρὶ διὰ τὸ ρίγος Γ²E, om. RΓ.

As typical of the manner in which the Aldine notes are often recast, I cite: 698 ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ πρὸς βαρβάρους 759 ἤγουν ἢ τιμὴ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁμοῖα 802 τόπος ἐστὶν ἄττικῆς· ἤγουν τὰς ἰσχάδας τὰς ἐκ φιβάλεως 867, 1-2 ἥρως ἦν ἐπὶ θήβαις τιμώμενος 732 (a) ἀνάβητε, (b) πρὸς τὴν, (c) ζαν (over μάδδαν) 750 (a) ὠνησόμενοι τί, (b) ἦλθομεν 810 (a) τῶν ἰσχάδων, (b) ἔλαβον.

The originality of the writer of this manuscript is well illustrated by the following notes on vs. 800-825, to be found nowhere else: 800 (a) σύ, (b) (ἐρώτ)α αὐτά 804 (a) λίαν, (b) προθύμως, (c) βοᾶτε 805 (a) τοῦτο πρὸς τινα δοῦλον αὐτοῦ φησι, (b) ἐκ τῶν, (c) ἵνα ἴδωμεν εἰ τρώγωσιν 806 (a) τοῦτο ἀμφιβάλλων φησί, (b) ἐπεὶ προθύμως ἴδε τρώγειν αὐτὰ, τοῦτο φησί 809 εἰ ἐδώκαμεν αὐτοῖς τοῖς χοιριδίοις 811 τῶν δύο δηλ 812 ἤγουν πόσον σοὶ δώσω εἰς ἀγοράν 814 (a) εἶδος μέτρου, (b) (μόν)ης, μίας 815 ἀνάμεινον 816 ὦ ἐρμῇ 817 (a) ἤγουν πωλῆσαι, (b) καὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ, (c) ἔοικεν ὅτι καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ χοῖρος ἦν 818 ἐκ ποίας πατρίδος ὑπάρ^x 820 ἦλθε 821 γέγονεν 822 (a) κλαίων, (b) ἔλαβε δὲ τὸν σάκκον τοῦ μεγαρέως 823 ὦ 824 (a) τίνος, (b) ὁ συκοφαντῶν, (c) οὔτοι (over οἷδ') 825 ἐκβάλλετε. The Attic equivalents have generally been written over dialectic forms. Longer notes are occasionally found, e.g.: 730 ἰστέον ὅτι μιμεῖται τὴν τῶν μεγαρέων ὁμιλίαν 738 (? but opposite 737) ἔοικεν μαγικὰ τινα χρῆται ὁ μεγαρεύς 778 ἔοικεν ὑπερβολικῶς ἐφύνησαν, διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα φησί 779 ἔοικεν ὅτι ὑπερβολικῶς πάλιν ἐσιώπησαν· διὸ ἐπιφέρει κοῖ· κοῖ 836 ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα

φησίν, ἵνα διαβάλλει τινὰς οὐκ ἀγαθούς, οὓς θεάσῃ 917 (assigned to ΔΙ.) οἶμαι ταῦτα τὰ πρόσωπα συγκεχυμένα εἶσιν : γρ' πρόσχες. Compare also the following, attached to other comments : 702 ὄρα πῶς αὐτὸν ἐπιτηδεύως κωμῶδ(εῖ) 792 ὄρα τὸ λεπτὸν τῆς τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐννοίας. The reader will readily agree with me, I think, that these unique comments can have no claim upon our attention, except as mere curiosities.

NOTE ON THE BATTLE OF PHARSALUS

BY ARTHUR SEARLE

IF we permit ourselves to imagine that the assassination of Caesar deprived us of a possible treatise on military affairs by the best general and the clearest thinker and writer of his time, we shall doubtless conclude that his premature death was still more disastrous to posterity than to his compatriots. In such a work, written for the instruction of later generations, he would have explained his views of strategy and tactics more fully than was possible when he wrote his Commentaries. Perhaps it was not only for want of time that, in addressing the public of his own day, he omitted to mention various principles of action which he might need to employ again in encountering new enemies. At all events, whether to save time or to keep valuable secrets to himself, he usually prefers to attribute his victories rather to the bravery of his men than to his own skill. He does not object, however, to make known many of the expedients to which he resorted on particular occasions, and the best known of all these is his use of a body of infantry at Pharsalus in frustrating the attempt of his antagonists to outflank him with their superior force of cavalry.

That body of infantry is represented in some modern descriptions of the battle as repelling a charge made by the enemy's horse. But this is an obvious misrepresentation, since Caesar tells us that he did not wait for such an attack, but ordered the infantry themselves to charge when the cavalry were beginning to deploy for action.¹ In fact, a charge of cavalry against Roman infantry was in those times never attempted. On an open plain, the legions might be gradually worn out by the missiles and desultory attacks of horsemen who could not be brought to close action, as Curio found in Africa²; but ordinarily, if cavalry intended to fight at close quarters, they were apt to begin by dismounting.

¹ *Caes. B. C.* 3, 93.

² *Op. cit.* 2, 41.

But why, at Pharsalus, could not Pompey's cavalry avoid the charge of Caesar's infantry, as Juba's cavalry could that of Curio's men? How was it possible for a body of infantry not merely to drive their mounted opponents from their position, but to prevent them from taking any further part in the action? And how could heavily armed soldiers not merely disperse, but overtake and cut to pieces the light infantry of the enemy? Caesar tells us that his men did all this, as if it were perfectly natural, and due simply to their strength and speed. The required explanation is probably to be sought in the topography of the field of battle, which is made partly clear by some of the circumstances which Caesar notices.

According to a custom still prevalent in the official reports of generals, Caesar represents himself as greatly outnumbered by the enemy, not only in cavalry and light infantry, but also in legionary soldiers.¹ If we are to believe in any material difference of this kind between the armies, Pompey's men must have been so much crowded together as to present a narrow front; for Caesar was able to attack all along their line, while at the same time he maintained a strong reserve, and had, besides, a number² of cohorts detailed for special service. The Pompeian reserve was evidently too near the troops in advance of it, so that it was thrown into confusion and broken at once upon their defeat. It should obviously have been posted upon the higher ground in the rear; but this, apparently, was the plan adopted on previous days, when Caesar had declined to attack. On the day of battle, therefore, perhaps yielding to the urgency of Labienus and his other counsellors, Pompey had brought all his forces down upon the level ground. His determination, however, not to have any *latus apertum* in the engagement, prevented him from advancing his front beyond the position in which its right flank could be covered by a stream with "obstructed" banks.³ Farther

¹ *B. C.* 3, 84; 3, 88; 3, 89.

² In 3, 93 the Mss. have the corrupt reading *ex cohortium numero*. Ursinus changed *ex* to *sex*. The reading *octo* in some modern editions assumes from 3, 89, *cohortes in acie LXXX*, that there were eight legions, and that Caesar drew one cohort from each. But the counting by cohorts seems to imply that the regular organization had been considerably broken up by the campaign.

³ *Caes. B. C.* 3, 88: *Dextrum cornu eius rivus quidam [the Enipeus] impeditis ripis muniebat*.

out in the plain the banks of the stream were presumably less steep and perhaps less obstructed by brushwood. It may have been partly for the same reason, in addition to those suggested by Caesar, that Pompey ordered his men to receive the charge of the enemy without advancing to meet them. This is the only point in his tactics which Caesar criticizes, as tending to depress the spirits of the soldiers¹; as usual, he makes the temper of the men the prominent subject of remark, suppressing any mention of tactical matters which he very possibly, as above suggested, may have preferred to keep to himself. But he admits that Pompey's order produced no obviously ill effects, as the charge was sustained bravely enough.

Some conjecture with regard to the extent of the front of each army seems here to be inevitable, little as we can know about it. Caesar estimates his force of heavy infantry at 22,000, composed of 80 cohorts, an average of 275 men to the cohort. He reports his loss as 200, including 30 centurions,² unless we are to restrict the word "milites" to the privates, in which case the total loss was 230. It is clear from this and other passages that the business of a centurion in battle was less to command than to set his men an example of courage.

In a combat carried on with short swords, it is clear that only one rank of men on each side can be engaged at once; and further, that the supporting troops cannot press too closely upon the actual combatants without hindering them in the use of their weapons. Nothing could be done in a battle like that of Pharsalus by the mere impetus of a mass of men, such as that on which a body of spearmen could depend. There would be a tendency, therefore, to diminish the depth and to extend the front of a Roman order of battle. On the other hand, the supporting troops must have been numerous, and as near the combatants as practicable without crowding them, so that gaps in the fighting line might instantly be filled, and the retreat of disabled men secured. The supports are usually understood to have been drawn up in short columns rather than in line, to allow of such retreats without confusion; and the original charge does not seem, by Caesar's account of the matter, to have been made in a regular line, but rather by squads of the most enterprising and ambitious men, centurions and others, spreading out as

¹ *Ibid.* 3, 92.

² *Ibid.* 3, 99.

they approached the enemy.¹ Whether the fighting line, as at first composed, constituted the whole *prima acies*, does not distinctly appear; at all events, soon after the fighting began, the *secunda acies* was taking part in it as occasion offered. The *tertia acies* at Pharsalus, and probably elsewhere, was the reserve, and should properly always have been sufficiently far from the actual combat to avoid being carried away by the rout of the others, and to give them an opportunity to recover their order after passing between its columns. Such, apparently, was not the case with Pompey's men at Pharsalus.

Each legion ordinarily fought separately; for Caesar says that, owing to the severe loss sustained at Dyrrachium by the ninth legion, he combined it on this occasion with the eighth, directing each to support the other;² that is, apparently, not to allow any traditional custom to interfere with filling gaps in the fighting line. But between one legion and the next there might ordinarily, perhaps, be some space, corresponding to a similar opening in the front of the hostile army. This, space, however, could not be large without risk of the *latus apertum*.

The battle was not decided in a few minutes, like an encounter conducted in somewhat the same way between two clans of Scotch Highlanders. The march to the attack began early in the day, and the assault on Pompey's camp, which soon followed the victory, did not occur till noon.³ The victors, as we have seen, lost only about one per cent. of their regular troops, and it does not seem probable, therefore, considering the length of the action, that even one-tenth of them were in action at once. The whole number being 22,000, the fighting line would consequently contain at most 2200 men. If we allow $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet for each man, the line would be 5500 feet long, somewhat more than a mile. Even when we admit that some want of continuity may have occurred in the fronts of the hostile armies, this estimate is probably rather excessive than defective. But Pompey's front, if Caesar reports his numbers with even approximate accuracy, should have been longer. Why were his men thus crowded laterally, as well as from front to rear?

A stream usually flows from a range of hills somewhere near the middle of a bay or recess in the range, and Pompey's army, although on level ground, was not far from the hills. As its right rested on the

¹ Cf. *B. C.* 3, 91.

² *B. C.* 3, 89.

³ *B. C.* 3, 95.

stream, it had hills near its left flank as well as behind it. On this supposition, room had to be made for the cavalry and light infantry between these hills and the legions, an arrangement which affords a plausible explanation of their contracted front.

The battle, according to Pompey's ideas as Caesar afterwards heard of them,¹ was to be decided by the flanking movement of the cavalry and light infantry, without much serious conflict between the legions. In order that this flanking movement might operate as a surprise, it was desirable that the cavalry should not at first be too far advanced. Columns of troops in general, and particularly columns of cavalry, can conveniently descend from hills only by definite paths or tracks, which will be few if the country is at all rugged. On reaching the plain, the cavalry must have had to advance in column either between the hills on the extreme left and the light infantry, or between these and the legions. To judge from Caesar's description of the battle, the second method was probably adopted.

But a simple stratagem such as Caesar, and also Labienus, had repeatedly practised with success against inexperienced Gauls, was not likely to take Caesar himself unprepared. It was probably the crowded appearance of his opponents as he approached which suggested to him the decisive counterstroke which he explains. It is doubtful, from what he tells us, whether he actually formed a separate column, six or eight² cohorts strong, marching behind his right flank, which may be suggested by his statement that he "set them against the cavalry";³ or whether he simply directed the rear sections of several columns of his reserve to be ready to wheel to the right and charge in column at the signal. The last method would best conceal his purpose from the enemy, but there may have been some practical difficulty in carrying it out.

According to Caesar, the battle began simultaneously, or nearly so, all along the fronts of the two armies. His cavalry were repulsed, as he had expected (and possibly directed), by the head of the dense column of their immediate opponents, and "gave ground a little,"⁴ without being driven off the field. The Pompeian cavalry then tried to deploy in the open space thus secured, having hostile cavalry in

¹ *B. C.* 3, 86.

² See above, p. 214, note.

³ *B. C.* 3, 89.

⁴ *Ibid.* 3, 93.

front, light infantry and hills on their left, and on their right the cohorts whose charge was ordered at this moment. It crushed the foremost troops of cavalry, who had no means of retreat. The entire column was thus thrown into confusion, and, as the only method of recovering its order, was obliged to regain the hills from which it had descended. In doing this, it necessarily occupied all the available tracks by which escape was possible. The light infantry were then shut in between the hills on their left and Caesar's cohorts; they could not advance on account of his cavalry, nor retreat by any convenient path on account of their own horsemen. Some might escape by scrambling up the nearest hills; but if these were rugged, and especially if they were covered with brushwood in those days, it may easily be believed that great numbers of men were overtaken and massacred upon the level ground, without the necessity of assuming any superhuman agility on the part of their assailants. The subsequent attack on the left flank and rear of the Pompeian legions, and the charge of Caesar's reserve against their front, secured the victory, as we are told, and as may readily be understood if we make the assumptions above set forth with regard to the formation of the field of battle, and the timidity, equivalent in this instance to rashness, which would seem to have governed Pompey in the disposition of his forces upon it.

GENERAL INDEX

- Acharnenses*, The Manuscript Tradition of, 157-211.
 Antispast, 13 ff.
 Aristophanes, 73.
- Boethius, Chronology of the Works of, 123-156; Brandt's investigations, 130 ff., 155.
 Boyhood and Youth in the Days of Aristophanes, 73-122.
 BRYANT, A. A., Boyhood and Youth in the Days of Aristophanes, 73-122.
- CARY, E., The Manuscript Tradition of the *Acharnenses*, 157-211.
 Cavalry, use of in Roman times, 213.
 Choriambus, 3 ff.
 CLEASBY, H. L., The Medea of Seneca, 39-71.
 Comedy, 'Logaoedic' Metre in Greek, 1-38.
Contaminatio, 39.
 Creon in Seneca's Medea, 68.
- Education, Greek, 73 ff.
 Eupolidean verse, 27.
 Euripides, 40 ff.
 ἔφηβοι, 79 ff.
- Glyconic verse, 35.
- Hephaestion, 1 ff.
- Jason in Seneca's Medea, 67.
- 'Logaoedic' Metre in Greek Comedy, 1-38.
- Majority, age of in Athens, 76.
 Manuscripts of the *Acharnenses*, 157-211.
 MCKINLAY, A. P., Stylistic Tests and the Chronology of Boethius, 123-156.
 Medea of Seneca, The, 39-71.
- Neophron, 40.
 Note on the Battle of Pharsalus, 213-218.
- Ovid's Medea, 41.
- παῖδα*, 107 ff.
παιδραστία, 101 ff.
 Pharsalus, Note on the Battle of, 213-218.
- SEARLE, A., Note on the Battle of Pharsalus, 213-218.
 Seneca, The Medea of, 39-71.
 Stylistic Tests and the Chronology of the Works of Boethius, 123-156.
 Stylistic tests applied to Plato, 123 f.
- Theatre, boys at, 96 ff.
 The Manuscript Tradition of the *Acharnenses*, 157-211.
- WHITE, J. W., 'Logaoedic' Metre in Greek Comedy, 1-38.
- Works doubtfully attributed to Boethius:
De Syllogismis Categoricalis, 140 ff.;
De Geometria, 148 ff.; *De Fide Catholica*, 152 f.

INDEX OF IMPORTANT CITATIONS

- Alexis, *Frag.* (206), 27; (237), 27.
- Aristophanes, *Ach.* (1150-1173), 9.
Eq. (551-564 = 581-594), 15;
 (973-996), 14.
Nub. (510-517), 3; (518-562), 26;
 (563-574 = 595-606), 25; (700-
 706 = 804-813), 4; (949-958 =
 1024-1033), 5.
Vesp. (319-322), 22; (526-545 =
 631-647), 5; (1226 f.), 17;
 (1238), 17; (1245-1247), 17;
 (1248), 17; (1450-1473), 23.
Pax (785-787 = 807-809), 10.
Av. (676-684), 20; (1372 ff.),
 11 f.; (1410 ff.), 17; (1415),
 17; (1724 f.), 10; (1736 =
 1742), 22; (1743), 22; (1754),
 22.
Lys. (319 f.), 11; (321-349), 7.
Thesm. (352-371), 21; (990-1000),
 19; (1136-1159), 20.
Ran. (213), 10; (1251-1260), 14;
 (1309-1328), 29.
Eccl. (902 = 908, 905 = 910), 10;
 (911-923), 19; (938-945), 17;
 (968-975), 8.
Frag. (10), 10; (11), 10; (30),
 10; (54), 27; (55), 27; (109),
 18; (140), 15; (141), 18;
 (142), 25; (533), 10; (561),
 24; (695), 18.
- Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* (3, 84 ff.), 213 ff.
- Crates, *Frag.* (33), 15.
- Cratinus, *Frag.* (9), 29; (41), 29; (74),
 27; (98), 26; (146) 29; (172),
 11; (210), 29; (221), 15;
 (318), 27; (320), 15; (321),
 17; (324), 28; (327), 29.
- Eupolis, *Frag.* (37), 29; (38), 10;
 (78), 27; (120), 27; (159), 10;
 (162), 15; (163), 10; (361),
 10; (362), 24.
- Euripides, *Medea*, 48 ff.
- Horace, *Od.* (1, 3, 9), 52.
- Ovid, *A. A.* (2, 373), 55.
Her. (12, 137), 47.
Metam. (7, 55), 50; (7, 391), 43;
 (8, 470), 63.
- Pherecrates, *Frag.* (13), 24; (29), 27;
 (47), 27; (64), 27; (79), 15;
 (95), 24; (96), 24; (109), 25;
 (122), 27; (131), 18; (132),
 27; (191), 27.
- Philyllius, *Frag.* (5), 25.
- Plato, *Frag.* (92), 27; (169), 27.
- Quintilian, *Inst.* (10, 1, 98), 41; (8, 5,
 6), 42.
- Tacitus, *Dial.* (12), 41.

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